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A New Discovery of a Large
Country in AMERICA by Father
Lewis Hennepin

A

DISCOVERY

OF A

COUNTRY

AMERICA

Louis Hennepin

London issue of 1698, with facsimiles
, maps, and illustrations, and the
troduction, Notes, and Index

ben Gold Thwaites

Relations and Allied Documents"

Two Volumes

VOLUME I

I OF THE ORIGINAL)

CHICAGO
CLURG & CO.
1903



A

NEW DISCOVERY

OF A

VAST COUNTRY

IN AMERICA

By Father Louis Hennepin

Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents"

In Two Volumes

VOLUME I

(BEING PART I OF THE ORIGINAL)

CHICAGO
A. C. McCLURG & CO.
1903

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INTRODUCTION

ABOUT the year 1640, Louis Hennepin, the author of this book, was born in Belgium, which was then a possession of Spain. He himself testifies that this event took place in Ath, a small town on the Dender, in the south-western province of Hainaut, and some twenty miles east by south of Tournay. This assertion is credited by his biographer Felix van Hulst,[1] but Pierre Margry cites documents[2] which seem to prove that Hennepin's birth occurred at Roy, in Luxembourg province, his parents having removed thither from Ath. This conflict of testimony illustrates the confusion which has long existed in the minds of bibliophiles and students of American history with regard to many other particulars in the life and work of our author; for while few have written more profusely or in more confident tone of their own exploits, seldom have autobiographers met with so incredulous a reception.

Hennepin's early years.

Of his earliest years or of his antecedents, Hennepin tells us little. He says: "I was from my Infancy very fond of Travelling; and my natural Curioſity induc'd me to viſit many Parts of Europe one after another;" but a few pages

[1] *Notice sur Le P. Hennepin d'Ath* (Liége, 1845).

[2] According to Shea, in the introduction to his translation of the *Louisiane* (N.Y., 1880); but we have ourselves been unable to find such citation in Margry's works.

further on we are assured that, "I Always found in my ſelf a ſtrong Inclination to retire from the World, and regulate my Life according to the Rules of pure and ſevere Virtue: and in compliance with this Humour, I enter'd into the Franciscan Order, deſigning to confine my ſelf to an auſtere Way of Living." Apparently he was still a boy when he became a novice in the Recollect convent within the old fortified town of Béthune in the Department of Pas-de-Calais, France. The Recollects were austere proselyters, an offshoot of the Franciscan order, and from their ranks were drawn the four missionaries whom Champlain introduced to Quebec in 1615.

Becomes a Recollect.

Hennepin appears to have been an uneasy soul, uncontent to remain cloistered, and fretting to engage in travel and wild adventure. The annals of his order abounded in deeds of self-sacrifice upon the frontiers of civilization. Contemplation of the records of these early missionaries inspired the young grey-gown with "a Deſire of tracing their Footſteps, and dedicating my ſelf after their Example, to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls." This was but a pious way of saying that he longed for action; later, he more fitly characterized his ambition as an "Inclination to travel."

While in Holland, whither he had gone to study the Dutch language,—no doubt French was his family tongue, rather than Walloon,—he was, he says, urged by some Amsterdam friends to go out as a missionary to the East Indies; but one of his sisters, "that was marry'd at Ghent,

and whom I lov'd very tenderly," dissuaded him from this venture. Determined, however, to see the world, young Hennepin compromised by a journey to Italy and Germany, "which did in ſome meaſure gratifie the Curioſity of my Temper." While abroad, he had an agreeable roving commission from his father superior, to visit "all the great Churches, and moſt conſiderable Convents of our Order."

Journeys in Europe.

Upon returning to the Netherlands, he was taken in charge by the bishop of Ipres, a fellow Recollect, who disapproved of the roving tendencies of the young friar and compelled him to settle down for a year as preacher in a convent in Hainaut. "After which, with Conſent of my Superior, I went into the Country of Artois, from whence I was ſent to Calais, to act the part of a Mendicant there in time of Herring-ſalting."

This was a mission more in accordance with the adventurous spirit of our author, for at the fishing port of Calais he was necessarily thrown in with sailors and other travellers, whose tales of wandering filled his soul with delight. "I was," he says, "paſſionately in love with hearing the Relations that Maſters of Ships gave of their Voyages. Afterwards I return'd to our Convent at Biez, by the way of Dunkirk: But I us'd oft-times to ſculk behind the Doors of Victualling-Houſes, to hear the Sea-men give an Account of their Adventures. The Smoak of tobacco was offenſive to me, and created Pain in my Stomach, while I was thus intent upon giving ear to their Relations: But

Hears seafaring tales.

for all I was very attentive to the Accounts they gave of their Encounters by Sea, the Perils they had gone through, and all the Accidents which befell them in their long Voyages. This Occupation was ſo agreeable and engaging, that I have ſpent whole Days and Nights at it without eating; for hereby I always came to underſtand ſome new thing, concerning the Cuſtoms and Ways of Living in remote Places; and concerning the Pleaſantneſs, Fertility, and Riches of the Countries where theſe Men had been." Perhaps this was not a dignified proceeding for a grey-friar in cowl and sandals; but there was always much of the boy in Hennepin. Any healthy lad who has revelled in *Treasure Island*, or listened even to the relatively commonplace sailors of our time as they spin their yarns over pipe and bowl, can but sympathize with this picturesque young Fleming who was by nature a wanderer, yet fettered by a frock which compelled him to hide, whereas he yearned to question his tap-room heroes face to face.

Fired still further by a desire to travel, the uneasy youth now "went Miſſionary into moſt part of the Towns of Holland." During eight months in 1673 he was at the fortified town of Maestricht, then a scene of activity in connection with the war which the Prince of Orange was waging with the French, in defence of the Dutch provinces. While there, he claims to have "adminiſter'd the Sacraments to above Three thouſand wounded Men," in the course of which duty he grew ill of a fever and came near to losing his life.

An army chaplain.

"The ſingular Zeal I had for promoting the Good of

Souls," declares our self-satisfied apostle, "engag'd me the Year following to be present at the Battle of Seneffe,[1] where I was buſied in adminiſtering Comfort to the poor wounded Men: Till at length, after having endur'd all manner of Fatigue and Toil, and having run the riſque of extreme Dangers at Sieges of Towns in the Trenches, and in Fields of Battel, (where I never ceas'd to expoſe my ſelf for the good of Mens Souls) while thoſe bloody Men were breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, I happily found my ſelf in a condition to ſatisfie my firſt Inclination." He had been called from his army chaplaincy by the father superior, and ordered to proceed to La Rochelle, then the chief port for vessels sailing to New France, and there seek an early opportunity to obtain passage for Quebec.

Recollects in New France.

The Recollects were introduced into New France as evangelists to the Indians, by Champlain himself; but finding themselves, a mendicant order without funds, unequal to a task necessitating a considerable expenditure of money, they had in 1624 invited the more powerful Jesuits to share the work with them. The two orders labored together, not without some friction, until the English conquest (1629). When England released her control in 1632, the Jesuits returned alone, and it was not until 1670 that the Recollects were again brought upon the scene — this time by the intendant Talon, who wished to use them as a foil to the Jesuits, of whom he was not fond. To the little company of grey-gowns then established at Quebec,

[1] Aug. 11, 1674.

five others were added in 1675, at the request of Frontenac.

We may well be sure that Hennepin used such arts as were practicable to secure service in so inviting a field as North America, which in his day offered possibilities in the line of adventure unequalled elsewhere in the world. The voyage on the Mississippi River by Joliet and Marquette had but recently been made known in Europe; and perhaps at no time was the spirit of discovery, the yearning for daring continental exploits on behalf of New France, more generally diffused.

Of that little ship's company in the summer of 1675, were three men destined to become famous in different walks of life — François-Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, bishop of the newly-established see of Quebec; Réné-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, the great explorer, who had recently been raised by the king to the dignity of an untitled nobleman and to the governorship of Fort Frontenac; and our hero. They arrived in Quebec in September, after the usual ocean-crossing incidents of the time, their vessel having been unsuccessfully attacked by Turkish and Algerian pirates in turn.

Hennepin sails for Quebec.

Upon the voyage, the friar was, according to his own story, rebuked by La Salle because he had sought to restrain the boisterous conduct of several young women who were being sent to Canada to find husbands among the settlers. Hennepin declares that to that trivial incident was traceable La Salle's persistent enmity to him in later years; but in his

earliest book Hennepin declares that he and La Salle were friendly, and at Fort Frontenac planned their discoveries together. It was not until after La Salle's death, when he sought to appropriate to himself credit for the former's explorations, that Hennepin alludes to this animosity. La Salle probably conceived a dislike for the missionary, while upon their Western expedition.

During the young Recollect's first four years in Canada he occupied, at least nominally, the post of preacher in Advent and Lent to the cloister of St. Augustin in the Hotel-Dieu at Quebec. Restless, as usual, he was not content to remain long within the stone walls of the dreary little capital of New France. The greater part of each year was spent as an itinerant missionary, following the hunters to their camps, visiting the Indian cantonments, and making notes on the country. In chapter ii of Part i, he gives us a vivid picture of his costume and his method of travelling — in winter, a dog-sledge carried his clothing and portable altar, while he, enveloped in gown and cowl, shuffled along behind in his snowshoes; in summer, a canoe was his conveyance, and Indians and long-haired voyageurs his companions. This rugged life, in which he trained himself for the great wilderness journeys to come, was filled with hardships and dangers — for the canoeist was in momentary peril of losing his life in rapids, and the traveller by snowshoes of "falling headlong over fearful Precipices"; Indian treachery was ever to be feared; "In the Night-time I had nothing to cover me

Rigorous training.

but a Cloak; and ſometimes the Froſt pierc'd to my very Bones;" while "My Commons alſo were very ſhort, ſcarce more than to keep me from ſtarving."

Missionary at Fort Frontenac.

At first, his mission called him little more than a hundred miles from Quebec, from whose gates the almost unbroken wilderness stretched in all directions; but after a time he was ordered to Fort Frontenac, which had been built in 1673 upon the site of the present city of Kingston, Ontario, and now was commanded by his shipmate, La Salle. Here, upon the shore of Lake Ontario, "a Hundred Leagues from Quebec," in company with a brother Recollect, Father Luke Buisset, he "perſuaded ſeveral of the barbarous Iroqueſe, to cultivate the Ground," and erected a chapel for the instruction of the tribesmen whom La Salle had persuaded to settle there. "I there gave my ſelf much," he writes, "to the reading of Voyages, and encreas'd the Ambition I had to purſue my Deſign" of "making this Diſcovery I am about to relate" — the exploration of the Mississippi Valley.

Among the Iroquois.

He claims to have one winter (1676–77) visited, while at Frontenac, all of the principal cantonments of the Iroquois, or "Five Nations," his escort being a French soldier from the fort. At one time they lodged with Father Jacques Bruyas, one of the Jesuit missionaries to the Iroquois. In April, having encountered a party of Dutch fur-traders who had come out to pick up beaver pelts, Hennepin apparently returned with these men to Albany

(then New Orange),[1] where he was kindly received because he spoke Dutch. There were many Dutch Catholics at New Orange, who invited the Flemish friar to settle among them as their priest; but he declares that fear of offending the French Jesuits, and of injuring the fur trade of New France, whose chief commercial rivals were the Dutch traders, impelled him to decline these advances.

After a chaplaincy of two years and a half at Fort Frontenac, — so says Hennepin, but his dates are sadly confusing, — he and Father Buisset returned in a canoe to Quebec, "where I retir'd into the Recollets Convent of St. Mary, in order to prepare and ſanctifie my ſelf for commencing our Diſcovery." Throughout all of his books runs the assumption that he, Father Hennepin, was the person who originated and planned the explorations which he records, but which posterity perversely associates chiefly with the name of La Salle; although sometimes he magnanimously allows the latter, as in the foregoing sentence, equal honors with himself.

In 1677 La Salle had gone to Paris to interest the court in forwarding his gigantic scheme for an exploration which was to result in connecting Canada with the Gulf of Mexico, by means of a chain of forts upon the Great Lakes and rivers. Successful in this mission, he reached Quebec in the middle of September the following year, eager at once to commence his splendid enterprise. Practically all of the

[1] Hennepin's account leaves the reader in small doubt as to this; but Brodhead's *History of New York*, ii, p. 307, does not accept this conclusion.

exploring parties whose records form a part of the annals of New France contained one or more missionaries, for the work of the church went hand in hand with the service of the king; territorial expansion meant new fields not only for the beaver trade but for the possible conversion of the heathen. The Jesuits were members and annalists of several such expeditions, Marquette having thus served with Joliet; but La Salle, although educated in a Jesuit house, was now at outs with that order, and preferred the company of the humbler Recollects. Selected by his superior to accompany La Salle upon this ambitious journey into the continental interior, Hennepin, summoned to Quebec, impatiently awaited the great explorer's return.

Selected to accompany La Salle.

La Salle arrived at the close of September, 1678, bringing to the friar, from Paris, the formal command of the Recollect provincial. Hennepin was forthwith entertained at dinner by the governor, Count Frontenac, and received the blessing of Bishop Laval; while both of these dignitaries gave him written certificates of their approbation. Frontenac, in particular, "a Man that teſtify'd a great deal of Affection for our Flemiſh Recollects, becauſe of our Candour and Ingenuity . . . was pleas'd to give publicke Teſtimonie to the Generoſity of my Undertaking, while we were ſet at Table."

While La Salle was preparing the details of the expedition and gathering supplies, Hennepin was sent on in advance to Fort Frontenac, "that," he grandiloquently assures us, "my Departure might oblige the reſt to expedite their Affairs with ſpeed." His own equipment

Sent on in advance.

was modest, such as he had often to carry upon his back during the three years to come, comprising only "my portable Chapel, one Blanket, and a Matt of Ruſhes, which was to ſerve me for Bed and Quilt." His dress was that of the order: a coarse grey robe with pointed hood, a rope about the waist, crucifix and rosary hanging from this rude girdle, and sandals upon his feet — the last-named a special concession for American missionaries, for the Recollect mendicants in Europe were barefooted. Thus attired and equipped, our hero — now some thirty-seven years of age, in the prime of his vigor and aglow with hope — joyfully descended the angling path to the strand of Lower Town, doubtless arm in arm with his brother monks. Awaiting him were two lusty voyageurs with a birch-bark canoe, into which he stepped with practised care; and soon he was waving farewell to the prayerful little group upon the shore, whose blessings he carried forth upon the strange journey wherein he was to win both fame and obloquy.

Now and then he stopped upon his way to minister to lonely little groups of habitants — fishers, hunters, voyageurs, and farmers all in one, as season or opportunity demanded — who had cut notches out of the riverside forest, and, seldom seeing a priest, were rejoiced at this unexpected visitation. Once he baptized a child, and frequently preached and said mass. At Montreal, his canoemen deserted him, evidently bribed by La Salle's commercial enemies, who were jealous of the explorer's fur-trade monopoly and these ambitious projects towards the West.

Voyage to Fort Frontenac.

But, not disheartened, the adventurous friar promptly engaged two substitutes, and after some minor incidents of wilderness travel arrived at Fort Frontenac late in the night of the second of November. There he was greeted by his old comrade, Father Buisset, who, with Father Gabriel Ribourde, newly arrived from France, had preceded him upon this dangerous journey. Six days later, La Motte de Lussière, one of La Salle's lieutenants, arrived with the majority of the party, leaving La Salle and his chief ally, Henri de Tonty, to follow a month later.

La Motte brought orders from La Salle to dispatch an advance party of fifteen men in canoes, to notify the Indians along the lakes, especially upon Lake Michigan and in the Illinois country, of the coming of the expedition, and to win their hearts by presents and soft speeches; also to gather peltries, for La Salle had obtained a practical monopoly of the forest trade in the far West, and the costs of the enterprise, represented by the explorer's numerous debts left behind him in France and Quebec, must be met by the profits of this traffic. La Motte and Hennepin, with sixteen men, meanwhile sailed in La Salle's brigantine, of ten tons burthen, to Niagara. The tempestuous voyage occupied from the eighteenth of November to the sixth of December. At a point about two leagues up Niagara River, La Motte commenced the erection of a fort, but soon abandoned this project when it became evident that the nearest Iroquois tribe, the Senecas, were jealous of so formidable an intrusion; he thereupon contented himself with

Arrival at Niagara.

constructing "an Habitation encompaſs'd with Paliſados" to protect his magazines.

Late in December, La Salle and Tonty, with the remaining supplies, set sail in "a great Barque" from Fort Frontenac. Their pilot almost succeeded in wrecking them on Christmas eve, off the Bay of Quinté. Later, they landed at the mouth of the Genesee and visited a large town of the Senecas, who reluctantly consented to allow La Salle to transport his supplies and equipment by the portage-path around Niagara Falls, to build a vessel above the cataract, and there erect a fortified trading-house as a base of operations. Proceeding to Niagara River, La Salle again left his vessel, to select a ship-yard site above the falls; but the pilot, possibly corrupted by enemies, this time allowed the bark to be lost off shore in a storm. Of its precious cargo nothing was saved, except cables and anchors destined for the vessel which it was proposed to build for the upper lakes.

Senecas conciliated.

With great labor, of which the friar — after the custom of missionaries in New France — no doubt performed his full share, the heavy stores were duly portaged to the mouth of Lake Erie, "two Leagues above the great Fall," and work commenced on the building of the "Griffon," a sailing-vessel of some forty-five tons burthen. In February (1679) La Salle made a perilous trip through the forest and over the ice to Fort Frontenac, a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles, to obtain additional equipment, to replace that lost in the bark. Meanwhile, Tonty — La Motte had returned to the settlements soon

Building the "Griffon."

after the arrival at Niagara — proceeded with the construction of the "Griffon"; and in due time she was launched, to the great astonishment of the simple Iroquois, who, influenced by La Salle's opponents, had done their best to hamper the enterprise. Indeed, several of the white servants of the expedition also gave much trouble, having doubtless been bribed to spread a spirit of mutiny.

It was the end of July before La Salle returned, having been delayed by the agents of importunate creditors, whose untimely demands threatened destruction of his hopes. But the resourceful adventurer finally compromised with them, and hurried back to his men, who were now housed aboard the vessel, for the hostility of the Iroquois rendered life ashore beset with peril.

Men thrown closely together in exploring parties are often depressed by long periods of enforced idleness, and possibly misery in many other forms; in that mood they readily find occasion for quarrelling, especially with those who exercise that strict command which is essential to success. Tonty, a masterful man, had trouble not only with the servants, but with the missionary himself; the latter declares that he not only disliked all subjects of Spain, such as Hennepin still was, but suffered from jealousy, "becauſe I kept a Journal of all the conſiderable Things that were tranſacted; and that he deſign'd to take the ſame from me. This Advice oblig'd me to ſtand upon my Guard, and take all other Precautions, to ſecure my Obſervations." It is well for us that Tonty, who evidently had small patience with a man of Hen-

Hennepin disliked by Tonty.

nepin's character, failed in his designs against the father's note-book; for to it we owe the first detailed description and illustration of Niagara Falls, as well as much else which sheds strong light on the enterprises of La Salle and the life and manners of North American savages at the time when they first came in contact with white men.

Returns to Fort Frontenac.

During the spring, apparently wishing to go into "retreat," Hennepin himself repaired to Fort Frontenac, in company with a Canadian for whom also Tonty had conceived a dislike.[1] Descending the Niagara in a canoe, they took passage in the brigantine which had brought La Motte and the friar in the previous December, and was now engaged on La Salle's behalf in the Lake Ontario fur trade. After many adventures, and several visits to Indian villages, wherein peltries were bargained for by the master of the vessel, the travellers finally reached the fort, being fondly greeted by the four Recollects whom they found there — Ribourde, Buisset, Zenobe Membré, and Melithon Watteau, all of them compatriots of Hennepin, "Natives of the Spaniſh Netherlands."

Missionary recruits.

At the instance of La Salle, Ribourde, Membré, and Watteau returned to Niagara with our hero, on board of the fur-trade brigantine. Stopping to trade with the Indians, the vessel lay in Irondequoit Bay, and was joined eight days later by La Salle, who came in a canoe along the southern coast of the lake.

[1] So says Hennepin. But in the apochryphal Tonty relation (Margry, *Découvertes*, i, p. 578) it is stated that Tonty sent eleven men with Hennepin.

Upon the fourth of August, La Salle and the four Flemish friars reached the "Griffon." It had been arranged by the Recollect authorities that Watteau should be left behind at the warehouse above the falls, to minister to the neighboring Senecas; while Hennepin, Ribourde, and Membré were to accompany the expedition to carry the gospel to the Western tribes.

The "Griffon," departing from the Niagara ship-yard upon the seventh of August, the first sailing-vessel to plow the waters of the upper lakes, enjoyed a pleasant passage through Lake Erie, the strait of Detroit, and Lake St. Clair. Upon Lake Huron, however, a violent storm alarmed the travellers, so that they were glad to find peaceful anchorage off Point St. Ignace, in the straits of Mackinac. The Jesuit missionaries there established made them welcome; although Hennepin, with characteristic jealousy, fails even to mention their black-gown hosts. It was from this haven that Joliet and Marquette had departed, six years previous, to discover the Mississippi River.

The "Griffon" sails.

After a week in the Mackinac region, the "Griffon" entered Lake Michigan and ran over to Washington Island, off the mouth of Green Bay. Here La Salle found some of the advance party of traders whom he had dispatched the year before; they had accumulated a goodly store of furs, which were promptly loaded into the vessel. Such were La Salle's financial straits that he deemed it wise to hurry forward to his creditors this valuable cargo, thereby to secure

At Green Bay.

the release of such of his property as they had seized at Fort Frontenac and elsewhere. The crew of the "Griffon" were accordingly ordered to sail at once to Niagara, and then "with all imaginable ſpeed, to join us toward the Sourthen Parts of the Lake, where we ſhould ſtay for them among the Illinois."

Leaving the islands upon the nineteenth of September, La Salle, with fourteen men in five heavily-laden canoes, paddled southward along the Wisconsin shore of Lake Michigan. It was a long and weary journey, involving much hardship, and actual danger from storms and hostile savages. In some of the encounters with the natives, the party came close to disaster; but persistence, diplomacy, and courage carried them safely through, although it was the first of November before they arrived at the mouth of St. Joseph River—"the River of Miamis," in Hennepin's text. Tonty and twenty men had been left behind at St. Ignace with orders to proceed to this point by way of the eastern (Michigan) shore of the lake; but it was twenty days before he succeeded in joining his master, having been detained by storms and scarcity of food. As for the "Griffon," it had not yet appeared, and for many months La Salle was heartsick with anxiety for her fate. It was not until long after, that the unfortunate pathfinder learned of her loss in a storm between Green Bay and Mackinac, owing to the unskilfulness of the pilot—although there were not lacking rumors of positive treachery.

Voyage to St. Joseph River.

Leaving a small garrison in the log fort which had been erected at the mouth of the St. Joseph, the remainder of the now reunited party — thirty-three in number — left upon the third of December to ascend the river and proceed over the portage (at the present South Bend, Ind.) to the Kankakee branch of the Illinois. The expedition moved slowly, for the pressure for food necessitated scouring the woods for game, so that it was the last of the month before they reached the great town of the Illinois, near the present Utica. The inhabitants were away upon their winter hunt, leaving the lodges empty, thus making it necessary for the explorers to proceed further; although in the absence of the owners they helped themselves liberally to dried corn, of which there was a large supply in concealed pits.

On the Illinois River.

Upon New Year's Day (1680) the expedition reached the broadening of Illinois River which we now call Peoria Lake. The occasion was celebrated by the friars in saying mass; "and having wiſh'd a happy New-year to M. la Salle, and to all others, I thought fit to make a pathetical Exhortation to our Grumblers, to encourage them to go on chearfully, and inſpire them with Union and Concord. Father Gabriel, Zenobe, and I, embrac'd them afterwards; and they promis'd to continue firm in their Duty." Later in the day, a short distance below the lake, they encountered an Illinois village of eighty cabins, wherein, after the usual flurry of alarm on the part of the savages, they were treated with courtesy.

Meeting the Illinois Indians.

But, even in this remote corner of the wilderness, La Salle soon found that his enemies were at work. That night there appeared in the village a Mascoutin chief who came to council with the Miamis; seeing La Salle, he denounced him as engaged on a mission to induce the Western tribes to unite with the Iroquois in devastating the country of the Illinois. To add to his mortification, La Salle discovered the following morning that six of his men had deserted him and disappeared within the forest, where doubtless they became coureurs-de-bois, the most fascinating occupation which offered itself to adventurous spirits in New France.

Enemies at work.

La Salle, having by his firm yet friendly manner disarmed criticism among his hosts, erected a palisaded defense on a hill in the vicinity of the cantonment, and called it Fort Crêvecœur (Heart-break)—a name long thought by historians to refer to the heart-rending situation in which he found himself; but apparently it was in compliment to Louis XIV of France, in allusion to that monarch's capture (1672) and subsequent demolition of a Netherlands stronghold thus named, near Bois-le-Duc.

Fort Crêvecœur.

Upon the first of March La Salle again set out for Fort Frontenac, accompanied by an Indian hunter and four Frenchmen, seeking equipment for a vessel to be erected at Crêvecœur for carrying his party down the Mississippi. It was a dangerous journey of about a thousand miles by land and water, the making of which consumed sixty-five weary days. Although met by enemies and

La Salle leaves for Canada.

grasping creditors, he contrived to duplicate the supplies of material for the new vessel, which had vainly been expected on the ill-fated "Griffon," and then set out for Crêvecœur to rejoin Tonty.

But we are in the present notice henceforth less concerned with the checkered career of La Salle — who, though continually harrassed by fate, returned again and again to the giant task to which he had set himself, only to fail at last — than we are with the progress of Hennepin, whose adventures must now exclusively claim our attention. Upon the day previous to La Salle's departure from Crêvecœur, he had dispatched our hero with two companions to descend to the mouth of the Illinois River and for some distance upon the Mississippi, and report upon the country. It appears from Hennepin's own confession, that although presumably a rugged man, he had weakened at thought of the hardships and perils of such a trip. Claiming that a disease of the gums necessitated his return to Canada for treatment, he sought to induce Ribourde to take his place; but the latter excused himself, for he was now sixty-five years of age and feeling old — the forest missionaries of New France early became, like their barbaric wards, the victims of rheumatism and lung diseases. Membré was also approached, but that father, despite his freely-expressed dislike of the work which fell to him in the foul-smelling and turbulent villages of the Illinois, concluded in this juncture that his duty lay among a people whose language he understood; a

Hennepin weakens.

few months later, Ribourde was slain by Kickapoos who objected to conversion. Hence Hennepin must sacrifice himself, his fellow-travellers being Michel Accau (or Ako) and Antoine Augel, who was nicknamed "le Picard" because from Picardy. While Hennepin throughout his narrative characteristically speaks of himself as the leader, and as a rule only mentions his companions as "the two Men who were with me," Accau appears to have been the real head of the party, the grey-gown being merely the usual ecclesiastical supernumerary.

His expedition starts.

Up to the point of their reaching the mouth of the Illinois, some fifty leagues below Crêvecœur, we are, in Hennepin's journal, treading upon firm ground. By means of the accounts of La Salle, the report ascribed to Tonty, and various contemporary documents, we are able to corroborate the father's narrative; and find it in the main trustworthy, save for the vainglorious attitude which detracts from its merit, although this leads no discriminating reader astray. Henceforth, however, we are in more or less doubt, for not only are some of the father's statements, especially as given in the book here reprinted, quite impossible of credence, but we shall see that his several narratives are in themselves contradictory.

His earliest volume, *Description de la Louisiane*, was published in Paris less than three years after this adventure. In that, as well as in chapter xxxvi of the present volume (which is in large measure a direct translation of the *Louisiane*), Hen-

nepin claims that, having left Crêvecœur upon the twenty-ninth of February, "On the seventh of March we met, within two Leagues from the River Meſchaſipi, a Nation of the Savages call'd Tamaroa"; they were detained at this place until the twelfth of the month by "The Ice which came down from the Source of the Meſchaſipi." In the *Louisiane*, he claims only to have thenceforth ascended the Mississippi to its upper waters; and we have ample proof that he did make this journey, for not only does his journal abound in internal evidence of his having visited the country and the tribes therein described, but the great coureur-de-bois Du Luth has independently testified to having rescued him from the Indians.

Stopped by ice.

Taken prisoners by the Sioux upon the eleventh or twelfth of April, near Lake Pepin, about five hundred miles above the mouth of the Illinois, the three French adventurers were marched to the villages of that nation in the Mille Lacs region, and accompanied their captors upon several hunting expeditions. At one time they visited the Falls of St. Anthony, at the site of the modern Minneapolis; this waterfall, like that of Niagara, Hennepin was the first to describe in a published narrative. After extended wanderings through northeastern Minnesota and northwestern Wisconsin, — during which they suffered abundant hardships, but apparently fared almost as well as their captors, — there suddenly appeared upon the scene Daniel Greysolon du Luth (or Lhut) with four French followers, who were visiting

Imprisoned by Sioux.

the Sioux in the interests of Count Frontenac's fur trade. Du Luth had obtained a strong influence over the savages of this region, and succeeded in bargaining for the release of his three compatriots upon promise to return thither with goods to be exchanged for furs.

Du Luth to the rescue.

The sturdy coureur-de-bois was kindness itself. Turning from his search for peltries, he and his men in early autumn descended the Mississippi with Accau's party, and, after more than one thrilling adventure, escorted them up the Wisconsin River and down the Fox to the Jesuit mission of Green Bay, and eventually to the St. Ignace mission at Mackinac. In describing this journey, the ungrateful Hennepin continually vaunts his own superior bravery, even to claiming that in at least one dangerous situation Du Luth was stricken with fear, and nothing but the father's cool directions brought the company through safely. As usual, Hennepin neglects, through professional jealousy, even to notice the existence of his Jesuit hosts at Green Bay; although in describing his residence at Mackinac he incidentally mentions Father Philippe Pierson of that mission, but apparently only because the latter was his fellow-townsman from Ath.

After a winter of Jesuit hospitality at St. Ignace, during which he and Pierson amused themselves by skating, and fishing through the ice with nets, Hennepin left in Easter week (1681) and proceeded down the lakes to Niagara, soon thereafter joining Buisset at Fort Frontenac, whence he went

to Montreal. There he was greeted by Frontenac, who chanced to be at that then far-away outpost of New France.

A ragged friar.

The governor "did wonder to ſee me ſo much alter'd, being lean, tir'd, and tann'd, having loſt my Cloak that the Iſſati had ſtoll'n from me, being then cloath'd in an old Habit, patch'd up with pieces of wild Bulls-Skins [buffalo hide]. He carri'd me to his own Houſe, where I continu'd for twelve Days to refreſh my ſelf. . . . He was much pleas'd to hear me talk of all the Hazards I had run in ſo long a Voyage, among ſo many different Nations." Not long after this episode, which no doubt has lost nothing in the telling, our hero returned to Quebec, and thence in due time sailed for Europe — probably in the following autumn.

The first book.

During at least the succeeding year, Hennepin was cloistered in the convent of his order at St. Germain-en-Laye, and there he appears to have written his first book, the *Louisiane*. The royal privilege allowing the Paris publisher — the widow of Sebastian Huré — to print the volume, was granted September 3, 1682; it was registered on the books of the printers' guild a week later, and printing for the first edition was completed on the fifth of January following. The volume must have at once met with a considerable sale, for new editions appeared in 1684 and 1688, and it was translated into Italian, Dutch, and German. Nevertheless it did not fail to arouse hostile criticism. Contemporary letters have been preserved,[1] showing that fellow ecclesiastics

[1] Neill, "The Writings of Louis Hennepin," read before the Minnesota Historical Society, September 6, 1880.

in Europe had small faith in Father Louis's pretensions; and La Salle had, before the book was issued, sent home word from Fort Frontenac that the friar was fond of representing things "as he wished them to be, and not as they were."

Had Hennepin, however, been content with being a one-volume author, his reputation might still be as good as that of most other explorers of his day; it being then the custom for travellers freely to spice their narratives with imaginary deeds, and to adopt more or less of a bragging tone. The pages of our adventurous friar abound in exaggeration and self-glorification; although his geographical and ethnographical descriptions are excellent, and add much to our knowledge of the North American interior during the last third of the seventeenth century. But in 1697, encouraged by his first success, he brought forth at Utrecht another book — *Nouvelle Découverte d'un très grand Pays, situé dans l'Amérique.* This omits the description of life and manners among the Indians, which was perhaps the strongest feature of *Louisiane*, and is filled out with other matter. It is dedicated to the English king in much the same terms of fulsome flattery as he had used towards the French monarch upon the pages of his *Louisiane.* The volume appears to have leaped into popularity, for new editions in French were published in 1698, 1704, 1711, 1712, and 1737; while translations were made into Dutch, German, Spanish, and English. Apparently it was one of the most widely read books of its day.

A second volume.

Six years before its appearance there had been published,

although at once suppressed, Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foi*, which contained an account by Hennepin's colleague, Father Membré, of La Salle's journey from Fort Crêvecœur to the mouth of the Mississippi (1682), in which Membré participated. This account, which, because of the suppression of Le Clercq's work, was little known at the time, Hennepin boldly appropriated, with such few verbal changes as were necessary to make it appear that this was a part of his own journal of 1680: thus setting up the astonishing claim that on leaving Crêvecœur he had first journeyed to the Gulf of Mexico, and then, returning to the junction of the Illinois, experienced the adventures upon the upper Mississippi which are detailed in *Louisiane*. Yet in his first book he had taken pains to state that he had not been upon the lower reaches of the Mississippi; he had intended to go down to its mouth, he says, "but the tribes that took us priſoners gave us no time to navigate this river both up and down."

Plagiarism from Membré.

That it was quite impracticable for him to have made the alleged trip to the lower waters of the great river, is evident from the dates given by the father himself. In *Louisiane*, as in the later volume herewith reprinted, the party are said to have left the Illinois not earlier than the twelfth of March. Upon the eleventh of April his party were captured by the Sioux near Lake Pepin. This leaves a scant month for the author to have descended and ascended the Mississippi and reached the place of capture — a journey all told of some 3260 miles. Hennepin tells us that his

An impossible claim.

canoe was slow, being large and laden heavily; yet to accomplish this feat he must have ascended the river against a strong current, at the rate of sixty miles a day, nearly three and a half times the speed attained two years later by La Salle, with better boats.

Unsatisfactory explanations.

The excuse made by Hennepin for waiting until ten years after La Salle's death (which had occurred in 1687), before making this claim of priority in the exploration of almost the entire length of the Mississippi, from the mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony,— and for contradicting his own express statement in *Louisiane*, — is, that fear of personal violence from La Salle or his partisans prevented an earlier relation of the entire truth regarding his travels. But this statement, repeated with elaboration at numerous points within the *Nouvelle Découverte* and its successors, does not have the ring of sincerity; and probably all historians are now agreed, as were his contemporaries, that only the original tale is to be credited. That numerous other passages and indeed chapters in all of his books subsequent to *Louisiane* were borrowed in whole or in part from Le Clercq, is evident; we have in our footnotes indicated the important thefts. The familiar charge, however, that several of the earlier chapters of even *Louisiane* are stolen from La Salle's memoir as given by Margry,[1] is not important; for, even if that memoir be accepted as genuine, it is quite possible that La Salle, as the leader of the expedition,

[1] "Relation des déscouvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle," in *Découvertes et établissement des Français*, i, p. 435 et seq.

had access to Hennepin's original journal, and he might with propriety have freely borrowed therefrom. But it is probable that the alleged memoir is after all merely a paraphrase of Hennepin's book, by some other hand.

While historians are agreed that the Hennepin books succeeding *Louisiane* abound in clumsy plagiarisms, and that the new claim of priority over La Salle was mendacious, there is not unanimous opinion as to who was responsible.

Who was responsible?

Charlevoix, Kalm, Bancroft, and Parkman have all pronounced Hennepin to be a falsifier; and so at first did Shea.[1] But later,[2] Shea took opposite ground, and sought to show that an unscrupulous publisher made up the new editions out of such material as lay at hand, apparently without consulting the author. To this charitable view, Poole good-naturedly yields a hesitating adherence.[3] Shea considers that he has made a strong point in favor of his theory regarding *Nouvelle Découverte*, by showing that several "sections" of that book bear special "signatures" of a character indicating to his mind that the type was set up and the sheets printed in different offices. But Paltsits, in his Bibliographical Data accompanying the present volume, takes what we consider the right view of the case — that the mechanical peculiarities of *Nouvelle Découverte* are not such as to warrant the conclusion that it was printed in different offices. Again, we must remember that in numerous

[1] *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (N.Y., 1853), pp. 99–106.

[2] In the introduction to his translation of *Louisiane* (1880).

[3] *The Dial*, Chicago, i, p. 253.

places throughout the book, in dedication and preface as well as in text, Hennepin in his own inimitable manner refers with warmth to the presentation of his new claim, and seeks to answer his critics; while the same spirit which dictated this species of thievery, leads him to introduce into nearly every chapter fresh exaggerations of statement, with the view of enhancing public interest in his so-called discovery. A careful comparison between *Louisiane* and its successors leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that, as Shea originally held, the blame must rest upon the shoulders of Hennepin, quite as much as upon those of his publishers. For a barefooted mendicant friar, presumed to be living a life of austerity, Hennepin appears to have been uncommonly acute in making his wares attractive to the uncritical public.

For three years after the publication of *Louisiane* (1683–86), Hennepin was guardian of the Recollects at Renti in Artois, and from his own account appears to have been busily engaged in rebuilding the convent at that place. The commissary provincial of his order, at Paris, Father Le Fevre — possibly desiring to rusticate his erratic brother — had at one time wished him to return to America. At the time he declined to go, taking refuge in the fact that the rules of the Recollects did not permit of their being sent beyond seas save with their own consent; his reasons were, he afterwards declared, that he feared violence at the hands of La Salle. Thereupon he declares that Le Fevre, who was a friend of La Salle, began a systematic persecution, which lasted for many years.

Persecution by superiors.

Ordered to go to Rome, he returned only to be sent to the convent at St. Omer; and then came what purported to be a mandate from the court at Paris, ordering him to depart from French territory and betake himself to his native Flanders, which was still Spanish soil — but Hennepin asserts that he afterwards discovered this order to be a forgery. The father's appeal to King Louis XIV received no attention, and he went to Gosselies, in Brabant, where he became confessor of the Recollect nuns (Penitents). During his five years' stay there, he claims to have built a large church and in many ways advanced the prosperity of his charge. But here again he was in hot water, for Le Fevre claimed that Gosselies belonged to France, and Hennepin should remain in Flanders. The latter denied this claim, and asserted that he held protection from the King of Spain; nevertheless he appears to have retired to Ath, the home of his childhood.

By this time La Salle had been assassinated, and Hennepin was himself desirous of returning to America, but now had difficulty in obtaining permission to do so. Denied a footing in France, he won the kindly consideration of Blaithwayt, secretary of war to William III of England, who, though a Protestant, was as Prince of Orange and defender of the Netherlands an ally of Catholic Spain. William and his secretary took pity upon the persecuted friar, and used their influence in an attempt to secure for him a missionary appointment to America. But the officials of the Recollects had now changed their minds relative to the disposition of their vain-glorious brother, and at first granted

Befriended by King William III.

nothing but fair promises. Being in the convent of his order at Antwerp (1696), Hennepin, attired in lay clothing, set out by land for Amsterdam in company with a Venetian ship-captain. On the way they were robbed by six mounted highwaymen, and it was only after many difficulties that our hero reached the Hague and was granted an audience by his friend King William. That monarch, upon the recommendation of the king of Spain and the elector of Bavaria, and the consent of the general commissary of the Recollects at Louvain, appears to have taken the missionary into his employ — evidently another name for subsisting him; while some of the English noblemen in Flanders, possibly only to pique the French, showed the father some social civilities.

Arrived finally at Amsterdam, he sought a publisher for his second volume of American travels; but failing here to secure one, proceeded to Utrecht, and there (1697) published *Nouvelle Découverte*. There is no reason to doubt that while in Utrecht he personally supervised the printing of this volume; also his third, *Nouveau Voyage d'un Pais plus grand que l'Europe*, which appeared from the press of another Utrecht publisher in the following year. The *Nouveau Voyage* was a hasty piece of patchwork, after the manner of many a modern book produced by a popular author who is making hay while the sun shines. The accounts of Indian life in *Nouvelle Découverte* are awkwardly pieced out with matter largely taken from Le Clercq. Translations into Dutch and German appeared within the same year.

With the publishers.

While the *Nouveau Voyage* was appearing in Utrecht, there was being printed in London an English version of Hennepin's travels, under the title of *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*. Within the year there was a re-issue of this volume, with some improvements in phraseology, arrangement, and typography; it is this second issue which we are now reprinting. Part I (our Volume I) contains the *Nouvelle Découverte;* Part II (our Volume II) is practically the *Nouveau Voyage*, with added matter introducing Marquette's voyage (1673) and like travels in North America. It is impossible to say how far Hennepin assisted in the translation and editing of *A New Discovery;* but doubtless he had a general supervision of the work, which appears to have enjoyed the personal patronage of King William, who apparently had more faith in the Flemish friar than was entertained for him in France. In some respects it is the most satisfactory of Hennepin's books. This fact, and the existence of Shea's abundantly-annotated translation of *Louisiane*, have influenced us in selecting the London volume for reproduction. There was a reprint of the second issue, in 1699.

The English version.

In the fulsome preface to the English king, contained both in *Nouvelle Découverte* and *A New Discovery*, Hennepin had again sought his intercession to secure an order for a renewal of his missionary labors in America. The father claims that the king's solicitation on his behalf obtained for him what he desired — "leave to go Miſſionary into America, and to continue in one of the United Prov-

Seeks to return to America.

inces, till I had digeſted into Order the Memoires of my Diſcovery." It would appear that in 1699 he had either won from his superiors the coveted permission, or was in a fair way to secure it; for we find Louis XIV ordering the governor of New France to arrest the obnoxious Recollect in case of his appearance there, and send him home.

The last trace.

Our last trace of Father Hennepin is in a letter written from Rome the first of March, 1701, wherein the writer, one Dubos, mentions that the friar, now in his sixty-first or sixty-second year, was then in a convent in that city, hoping soon to return to America, under the protection of Cardinal Spada. Certain it is that our author never went upon this mission; but what adventures befell him in his later years, or when or where he died, we know not.

Characterization.

A mendicant friar, Father Hennepin was consumed by an unconquerable passion for worldly adventure, and thereby became estranged from his ecclesiastical colleagues, who appear to have regarded their roving brother at first with suspicion and eventually with dislike. Early thrown into association with Frenchmen, he seems to have been regarded by them as a Flemish intruder, and finally was buffeted about by his enemies and thrown upon the bounty of Protestant England, practically a man without a country. Apparently hardy, brave, and enterprising, he was lacking in spiritual qualities, and no doubt possessed a captious temper which tended still further to alienate his companions. That he was a conceited braggart in private life as well as in his books, is evident from letters of the time — La Salle

wrote with warmth concerning the missionary's exaggerations.

The opportunities afforded this evangelist for connecting his name with an important enterprise of exploration were perhaps unexampled, save in the case of Marquette himself. His first book, as the annalist of the expedition, is that of a boaster, and nearly every incident therein is obviously overcolored. He arrogates to himself much that should have been credited to his companions; with surprising audacity he adopts a patronizing tone towards even such men as La Salle and Du Luth, and discredits their deeds, which were far greater than his own. The successors to the volume are, we have seen, marred by inexcusable and bungling mendacity, which shows the author to have been morally unfitted for the ecclesiastical calling — the judgment, apparently, of his own superiors, who, despite the marshalling of foreign influence in his behalf, prevented his return to the missionary field.

Nevertheless, when all is said, we must acknowledge Hennepin's works to be invaluable contributions to the sources of American history; they deserve study, and to this day furnish rare entertainment. We can pardon much in our erratic friar, when he leaves to us such monuments as these.

While seeking to reproduce the old text as closely as practicable, with its typographic and orthographic peculiarities, it has been found advisable here and there to make a few minor changes; these consist almost wholly of palpable blemishes, the result of negligent proofreading — such as turned letters, transposed letters, slipped letters, and mis-spacings. Such corrections have been made

Exact reproduction.

without specific mention; in some instances, however, the original error has been retained, and in juxtaposition the correction given within brackets. We indicate, throughout, the pagination of the old edition which we are reprinting, by inclosing within brackets the number of each page at its beginning, *e.g.* [14]; in the few instances where pages were, as the fruit of carelessness in make-up, misnumbered in the original, we have given the incorrect as well as the correct figure, *e.g.* [26, *i.e.* 126].

In the preparation of Notes for this reprint edition of the second London issue of 1698, the Editor has been fortunate in securing the coöperation of his competent assistant upon the *Jesuit Relations*, Miss Emma Helen Blair, chief of the Division of Maps and Manuscripts in the Wisconsin State Historical Library. He is also under obligations to Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of Lenox Library, New York, for the admirable Bibliographical Data published herewith—the first accurate bibliography of Hennepin which has thus far been published.

Aid acknowledged.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., April, 1903.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

By Victor Hugo Paltsits

THE bibliography of the works of Father Louis Hennepin, in their various editions, translations, and ramifications, is a stumbling-block which has grounded more than one unwary bibliographer. The data presented here are offered as a "setting" to the present edition. This is not the place to discuss the voluminous controversial literature which, from Hennepin's day to ours, has agitated the name or the fame of this Recollect author.

Search for information about Hennepin by a querist to the *Historical Magazine* for 1857, p. 244, inspired several replies —in vol. i, pp. 316, 317, by Samuel H. Parsons; pp. 346, 347, by John Russell Bartlett; and vol. ii (1858), pp. 24, 25, by E. B. O'Callaghan and James Lenox. These contributions, merely hints or outlines, are ill-digested and inaccurate. They deserve mention because they were, perhaps, the stimuli toward subsequent quest in the matter.

Henry Harrisse, in his *Notes sur la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1872), described the seventeenth-century French editions and translations which were known to him. He is reasonably correct, judged from the plan which he adopted for his descriptions, but a number of mistakes have been discovered; and his plan is not sufficiently elaborate for the fastidious

accuracy required in modern scientific bibliography. I do not, however, wish to convey the impression of captious criticism of Mr. Harrisse, who as a pioneer paved the way for others, and whose many painstaking and scholarly publications have placed Americanists forever in debt to him.

In 1876, the section of Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, embracing Hennepin, appeared. It was reissued separately as *A List of the Editions of the Works of Louis Hennepin and Alonso de Herrera* (New York: J. Sabin & Sons, 1876), as a "specimen" of the *Dictionary*, "intended to exhibit the thorough manner in which the work is performed." Sabin's article on Hennepin was fairly good work for his day in America; and, hitherto, every bibliographer has resorted to him, not always with full acknowledgment. But his method of collating was unsatisfactory; he committed quite a number of egregious mistakes; failed to record certain extant editions, and erroneously included others that never existed.

In 1880, John Gilmary Shea prefixed a "Bibliography of Hennepin" to his translation of Hennepin's *Louisiane*, pp. 382–392, which was also reissued as a separate pamphlet in a small edition. He used Sabin, and at times had the assistance of the late George H. Moore. Nevertheless he is responsible for some of the worst bibliographical bulls with which this subject is overburdened. They were copied, extended, and perpetuated by others, notably Winsor, Remington, and Dionne.

On September 6, 1880, the late Edward D. Neill presented a paper on *The Writings of Louis Hennepin* to the monthly meeting of the Department of American History of the Minnesota Historical Society (10 pp.), which merely touches the bibliographical side of his works, and treats them critically as to text. He finds against their author, whom he charges anew with being "deficient in Christian manhood."

John Russell Bartlett described the Hennepins in The John Carter Brown Library at Providence, in the printed Catalogue of that Library, second edition of part ii (Providence, 1882), and part iii (Providence, 1870). Of the former 100 copies were printed for private circulation, and of the latter only fifty. They are not easily available, and command good prices in the book-market. His work is also faulty.

In vol. iv (copyrighted 1884), pp. 247–256, of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Justin Winsor presented a bibliography under the heading, "Father Louis Hennepin and his real or disputed discoveries." It is merely a compilation from Harrisse, Sabin, Shea, and booksellers' and library catalogues; it may be termed a *resumé* embodying the mistakes of others, with the addition of errors of its own.

In 1891, Cyrus Kingsbury Remington published *The Ship-Yard of the Griffon . . . together with the moſt complete bibliography of Hennepin that has ever been made in any one list* [etc.]. His Hennepin bibliography covers pp. 51–74; shows very few evidences of original research, and is unique in its field for the linguistic havoc to which the French, Dutch,

German, and other foreign languages have been subjected during transcription of the title-pages. A second edition of Remington's monograph was issued at Buffalo in 1893. His bibliography also forms pp. 55–75 of the *Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara*, printed at Albany in 1893. These later publications are no improvement of that of 1891.

N. E. Dionne, of Quebec, was the last to take up the subject, in his *Hennepin, ses Voyages et ses Œuvres* (Quebec: Raoul Renault, 1897. Royal 8vo, pp. 40), of which only 150 copies were printed. He has culled from Harrisse, Sabin, Shea, and others, but does not refer to Remington. Dionne's titles are not lined, and his collations are inaccurate and uncritical.

Scattered data appear in many historical and bibliographical books, as well as in library and booksellers' catalogues.

A futile attempt at a chronological check-list was made by Philéas Gagnon in his *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne* (Quebec, 1895), p. 224.

In the following data the original French editions and the English versions of 1698 and 1699 are given elaborate treatment. Subsequent French editions, translations, and abridgments are summarized. The descriptions in every case are from the books themselves. The absence of editions in this summary, which had been included in any of the above-mentioned bibliographies, is not evidence of incompleteness. It augurs rather that such editions do not exist.

I — LOUISIANE.

Description | de la | Louisiane, | nouvellement decouverte | au Sud' Oüeſt de la Nouvelle France, | par ordre du Roy. | Avec la Carte du Pays : Les Mœurs | & la Maniere de vivre | des Sauvages. | Dediée a Sa Majesté | Par le R. P. Louis Hennepin | Miſſionnaire Recollet & | Notaire Apoſtolique. | [*Monogram of Amable Auroy*] |

A Paris, | Chez la Veuve Sebastien Huré, ruë | Saint Jacques, à l'Image S. Jerôme, | près S. Severin. | M. DC. LXXXIII. | Avec Privilege dv Roy. |

Collation — Title, verso blank, 1 leaf; epistle "Au Roy," pp. (8); "Extrait du Privilege du Roy," pp. (2); text of the "Description," pp. [1] — 312; text of "Les Moeurs des Sauvages," pp. [1] — 107; verso of p. 107 blank. Signatures: ã in six, A in eight, B in four, C in eight, D in four, E in eight, F in four, G in eight, H in four, I in eight, K in four, L in eight, M in four, N in eight, O in four, P in eight, Q in four, R in eight, S in four, T in eight, V in four, X in eight, Y in four, Z in eight, Aa in four, Bb in eight, Cc in four, *A* in eight, *B* in four, *C* in eight, *D* in four, *E* in eight, *F* in four, *G* in eight, H in four, I in six (but some copies may end with two blank leaves, completing the signature in eight). The heading and pagination of p. 223 are imperfectly printed in some copies. On p. 63 of the "Mœurs" the ornament at top is incomplete. Sig. Eiiij is misprinted Biiij, and *C* and *Cij* (pp. 25–28 of part ii) are misprinted *B* and *Bij*.

The "Privilege" is dated "3 Septembre 1682," and the registry "le 10. Septembre 1682." The following note appears at the end of the "Privilege": "Achevé d' imprimer pour la premie— | re fois, le 5. Janvier 1683."

A map "inue. et fecit" by N. Guerard, "Roussel fcripsit," measures 11½ by 19 inches, and is entitled: Carte | de la | Nouuelle France | et de la | Louisiane | Nouuellement decouuerte | dediée | Au Roy | l' An 1683. | Par le Reuerend Pere | Louis Hennepin | Missionaire Recollect | et Notaire Apostolique. | The watermark in the paper of the map is a bunch of grapes.

One of the copies in the New York Public Library, formerly George Bancroft's, has "John Penington & Son. | Philadelphie," | stamped under the imprint of the title-page. This has, however, no bibliographical significance, having been added at a very late day.

1684—French.

In 1684 there was a reissue of the same sheets, but with an entirely new title-page, having the following imprint:

A Paris, | Chez Amable Auroy, ruë | Saint Jacques, à l'Image S. Jerôme, | Proche la fontaine S. Severin. | M. DC. LXXXIV. | Avec Privilege, du Roy. |

The publisher had married the widow of Huré, and it is a curious fact that the monogram of Amable Auroy occurs on the title-pages of both issues, notwithstanding the disparity of the imprints.

1688 — FRENCH.

This is an entirely new edition, evidently set up after one of the earlier issues, but embodying typographical and verbal changes, such as capitalization, spelling, and changes in the form of place-nomenclature. The publisher is Amable Auroy. At the end of the "Privilege" this information is given: "Achevé d'imprimer pour la ſecon— | de fois, le 10. Mars 1688. | De l' Imprimerie de Laurent | Rondet." | The map is the same plate as in the first edition.

1720 — FRENCH.

A little tract of 45 pp., by "M. le chevalier de Bonrepos," is usually considered as an abridgment of Hennepin's *Louisiane*. It was published at Rouen and Paris in 1720.

LOUISIANE — *Translations.*

Italian —

1686 — Descrizione della Lvigiana. The imprint is: In Bologna, per Giacomo Monti. 1686. | Con licenza de' Superiori. | The John Carter Brown Library has an uncut copy.

1691 — Abridgment in vol. ii, pp. 423–455 of "Il Genio Vagante Biblioteca curioſa," printed at Parma.

Dutch —

1688 — Beschryving van Louisania (Engraved title: Ontdekking van Louisania). The imprint is: t'Amsterdam, | By Jan ten Hoorn, Boekverkooper over't Oude | Heeren Logement, in de Hiſtori-Schryver. A. 1688. |

German —

1689 — Beschreibung Der Landschafft Lovisiana. The imprint is: Nürnberg, In Verlag Andreä Otto 1689. |

1692 — Sabin is authority for an edition of this date, which very likely does not exist.

English —

1880 — A Description of Louisiana. New York: John G. Shea, 1880.

II — NOUVELLE DECOUVERTE.

Nouvelle | Decouverte | d'un tres grand | Pays | Situé dans l'Amerique, | entre | Le Nouveau Mexique, | et | La Mer Glaciale, | Avec les Cartes, & les Figures neceſſaires, & de plus | l'Hiſtoire Naturelle & Morale, & les avantages, | qu'on en peut tirer par l'établiſſement des Colonies. | Le tout dedie | à | Sa Majeſté Britannique. | Guillaume III. | Par le | R. P. Louis Hennepin, | Miſſionaire Recollect & Notaire Apoſtolique. |

A Utrecht, | Chez Guillaume Broedelet, | Marchand Libraire. MDCXCVII. |

Collation. — Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; dedication to King William III, pp. (23); "Avis au Lecteur," pp. (26); "Table des Chapitres," pp. (19); text, pp. [1] — 312, ten pages with star 313 inserted, 313–506. Signatures: *—*** in twelves, A—N in eights, O* (with binder's instructions "Ces fuellets doivent s'inſerer entre N. & O") in five, O—X in twelves, Y in one. Q4 is misprinted Q7.

Plates. — At p. 44, view of Niagara Falls; p. 187, the Buffalo. Map entitled, "Carte | d'un tres grand | Pays | entre le | Nouveau Mexique | et la | Mer Glaciale | Dediée a | Guiliaume III^e^. | Roy de la Grand Brettagne | Par le R. P. | Louis de Hennepin | Miſſion: Recol: et Not: Apoſt: | Chez G. Broedelet | a Utreght" | It measures 20½ by 17 inches, and was "del. et fecit" by J. V. Vianen. Map entitled, "Carte | d'un tres grand Pais | Nouvellement découvert | dans | l'Amerique Septentrionale | entre le | Nouveau Mexique et la | Mer Glaciale | avec le Cours du Grand Fleuve | Meschasipi | Dediée a Guiliaume III^e^ | Roy de la Grand Brettagne | Par le R. P. | Louis de Hennepin | Miſſion: Recoll: et Not: Apoſt: | Chez G. Broedelet | a Utreght." | It measures 17½ by 14⅞ inches.

There has been some speculation by Shea and others as to whether certain parts of the volume were printed in another printing-office and with different type from that of the first 312 and ten star pages. We find the paper alike throughout. The change in the heading after p. 313 is also paralleled at intervals in the pages before p. 313, *e. g.* pp. 28–40, 66, 78–88, etc. This vagary has no special significance. Chapters 45–76 have their numbering printed in Arabic, while the preceding forty-four chapters were given in Roman numerals. But this does not prove that a different printing-office produced that part of the book. Curiously enough, the "Table des Chapitres" at the beginning of the volume observes this change from Roman to Arabic numeration, and omits any page reference whatever for the inserted star sig.

O, which would go to prove that the "Table" was printed after all the text was in shape to be tabulated. The type is the same in the text throughout, except the last page, which is printed with a smaller font to bring it within the page — not an unusual circumstance in books of the period. Altogether considered, the volume has evident traces of having been "built up" while in press. The author's "Avis au Lecteur" and other considerations would seem to indicate that he supervised the work personally.

1698 — French.

In 1698 a reprint was issued in Amsterdam, which followed the original edition rather closely, even going so far as to repeat the star signature and other individualities. The chapters, however, are all numbered in Roman numerals. The collation consists of the same number of pages, and the last page (506) is in type agreeing with the body of the text. Maps and plates agree with the 1697 edition, save that the imprint on the maps is changed. The imprint on the title-page reads thus:

"A Amsterdam, | Chez Abraham van Someren, | Marchand Libraire. MDCXCVIII." |

French Editions.

1704 — Voyage ou Nouvelle Découverte (also La Borde's Voyage, with separate title). The imprint is: A Amsterdam, | Chez Adriaan Braakman, Marchand Libraire près le Dam. | M D CC IV. |

1704 — Voyage Curieux (also La Borde's Voyage, with separate title). The main title has imprint: A La Haye, | Chez Jean Kitto, Marchand Libraire, dans | le Spuy-ſtraet. 1704. | La Borde's title has imprint: A Leide | Chez Pierre vander Aa, | MDCC IV. | An issue also exists with this latter imprint on the main title-page, but with the date in Arabic numerals. Both varieties are in the John Carter Brown Library.

1711 — Voyage Curieux (also La Borde). The title is folded in, and has the following imprint: A Amsterdam, | Aux depens de la Compagnie. | M. DCCXI. |

1712 — Voyage Où nouvelle Découverte. A Amsterdam, | Chez Jacques Desbordes, Libraire vis-à-vis | la Grande Porte de la Bourſe, 1712. |

1737 — In vol. ix of Jean Frederic Bernard's "Recueil de Voiages au Nord." Amsterdam.

1737 — In vol. 2, pp. 223–373, and table of chapters pp. (3), of Garcilasso de la Vega's "Histoire des Yncas," with imprint: A Amsterdam, | Chez Jean Frederic Bernard, | MDCCXXVII. | The date is a misprint for 1737.

NOUVELLE DECOUVERTE — *Translations.*

Dutch —

1699 — Nieuwe Ontdekkinge. The imprint is: Tot Amsterdam, | By Abraham van Someren. 1699. |

1702 — Nieuwe Ontdekkinge. The imprint is: Tot Amsterdam, | By Andries van Damme, | Boekverkooper op't Rokkin bezyden de Beurs, 1702. |

1704 — Aenmerkelyke Voyagie. The imprint is: Te Leyden, | By Pieter vander Aa, 1704. | It is usually found in the collection entitled: "De Gedenkwaardige West-Indise Voyagien." Leyden: Pieter vander Aa, 1704.

1704 — Aanmerkelyke Voyagie. The imprint is: Te Rotterdam. | By Barent Bos Boekverkooper 1704. | It is usually found in the collection entitled: "De Gedenkwaardige West-Indise Voyagien." Rotterdam: Barent Bos, 1704.

German —

1699 — Neue Entdeckung. The imprint is: Bremen, | In Verlegung Philip Gottfr. Saurmans, Buchh. 1699. |

1739 — Neue Reise=Beschreibung. Nürnberg, 1739. | In Verlag Chriſt. Friedr. Feiſse. |

Spanish —

1699 — An abridgment entitled: "Relacion de un Pais," with imprint: En Brusselas, | En Caſa de Lamberto Marchant, | Mercader de Libros. | M. DC. XCIX. |

English —

[1720] — An abridgment entitled: "A Discovery of a Large, Rich, and Plentiful Country," with imprint: London: | Printed for W. Boreham, at the Angel in | Pater-Noſter Row. (Price Six Pence.) |

III — NOUVEAU VOYAGE.

Nouveau | Voyage | d'un Pais plus grand que | l'Europe | Avec les reflections des entrepriſes du Sieur | de la Salle, ſur les Mines de St. Barbe, &c. | Enrichi de la Carte, de

figures expreſſives, des mœurs | & manieres de vivre des Sauvages du Nord, | & du Sud, de la priſe de Quebec Ville Capital- | le de la Nouvelle France, par les Anglois, & des | avantages qu'on peut retirer du chemin recourci | de la Chine & du Japon, par le moien de tant | de Vaſtes Contrées, & de Nouvelles Colonies. | Avec approbation & dedié à ſa Majeſté | Guillaume III. | Roy de la grande | Bretagne | par le | R. P. Louis Hennepin, | Miſſionaire Recollect & Notaire Apoſtolique. |

A Utrecht, | Chez Antoine Schouten, | Marchand Libraire. 1698. |

Collation.— Title, verso blank, 1 leaf; dedication, pp. (20); "Preface," pp. (38); "Table des Chapitres," pp. (10); one blank leaf; text, pp. [1]–389; verso of p. 389 blank. Signatures: *—*** in twelves, A—Q in twelves, R in three (copies in original binding probably have a blank leaf, completing R in four). No mispaging.

Plates.— Engraved and designed by "I. van Vianen"; p. 19 "Avantures mal heureuſes du Sieur de la Salle"; p. 73 "Le Sieur de la Salle mal-heureuſemet [*sic*] aſſaſiné"; p. 204 "Cruautéz in-oüies des ſauvages Iroquois"; p. 343 "Priſe de Quebeek [*sic*] par les Anglois." Map entitled, "Carte | d'un nouueau | Monde, | entre le nouueau | Mexique, | et la mer Glacialle | Novellement decouvert par le | R. P. Louis de Hennepin | Misſionaire Recolleet [*sic*] natif d'Aht. | en Hainaut | dediée a ſa Majeſté | Britanique, le Roy | Guilaume Troiſieme." It measures 18⅜ by 11⅜ inches, and was engraved by "*Gaſp : Bouttats.*"

There is also an issue of 1698 with the imprint "Utrecht, chez Ernestus Voskuyl, Imprimeur, 1698." It is very uncommon, and is known to me only from Félix van Hulst's *Notice sur Le P. Hennepin d'Ath:* Liége, 1845, p. 36; and from a copy offered for sale in the spring of 1902 by a Jesuit in France, in correspondence with Mr. Thwaites.

French Editions.

1720 — Voyage en un Pays plus grand que l'Europe. Embraces pp. 199–381 of Relations | de la | Louisiane, | et du | Fleuve | Mississipi. | Où l'on voit l'état de ce grand Païs & | les avantages qu'il peut produire &c. | [*Cut*] | A Amsterdam, | Chez Jean Frederic Bernard, | M. D CC. XX. | The John Carter Brown Library has this volume in two states, one with the title in black, the other with three lines in red.

1734 — In Bernard's *Voyages*, published at Amsterdam, vol. v (called "Troisième edition"). There are, perhaps, Bernard editions of other dates than the above.

Nouveau Voyage — *Translations.*

Dutch —

1698 — Aenmerckelycke Historische Reys-Beschryvinge. The imprint is: Tot Utrecht, | By Anthony Schouten. 1698. |

German —

1698 — Neue Reise-Beschreibung. The imprint is: Bremen. | In verlegung Phil. Gottfr. Saurmans, | 1698. |

1742 — Reisen und seltsahme Begebenheiten. Bremen, | bey Nathanael Saurmann, 1742. |

COMPOSITE ENGLISH EDITIONS.

There are two distinct English editions of 1698; the first we designate as the "Bon- | " edition, and the second (the one herein reprinted) the "Tonſon, | " edition; naming them after the ending of the first imprint line of their respective title-pages. There is only one edition of 1699.

The text-page of the Bon- | edition measures 6⅛ by 2⅞ inches, and the Tonſon, | edition 6⅝ by 3⅜ inches. The translations of the 1698 editions at times vary considerably; the 1699 edition seems to follow closely the text of the Tonſon, | edition, with changes, however, in capitalization and spelling.

1698 — Bon- | Edition.

A | New Diſcovery | of a | Vaſt Country in America, | Extending above Four Thouſand Miles, | between | New France and New Mexico. | With a | Deſcription of the Great Lakes, Cata- | racts, Rivers, Plants, and Animals: | Alſo, The Manners, Cuſtoms, and Languages, of the | ſeveral Native Indians; And the Advantage of | Commerce with thoſe different Nations. | With a | Continuation: | Giving an Account of the | Attempts of the Sieur De la Salle upon the | Mines of St. Barbe &c. The Taking of | Quebec by the Engliſh; With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to China and Japan. | Both Parts Illuſtrated with Maps and Figures, | and Dedicated to His Majeſty K. William. | By L. Hennepin, now Reſident in Holland. | To which is added, Several New Diſcoveries in North- | America, not publiſh'd in the French Edition. |

London: Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonſon, H. Bon- | wick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manſhip. 1698. |

Collation.— Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (4); "Contents of the Chapters," pp. (8); text of "A New Diſcovery," pp. 1–299; verso of p. 299 blank; title to "A Continuation of the New Diſcovery," with verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (9); blank (1); "The Preface," pp. (16); "A Table of the Chapters," pp. (4); text headed "A Voyage through a Vaſt Country Larger than Europe," pp. 1–178; half-title: "An Account of several New Diſcoveries in North-America," with verso blank, 1 leaf; text, pp. 303–355; verso of p. 355 blank. Signatures: A in eight, a in four, B—T in eights, V in six, Aa in six, Bb—Ee in eights, *ee in two, Ff—Nn in eights, Oo in three, and two leaves carried over and completing V (given above) in eight, X—Z in eights, Aa in two (perhaps belonging to the preceding sig. Aa to complete it in eight). Mispaging: Part i, pp. 94 and 95 transposed; 202 and 203 are given as 102 and 103, respectively; 206 as 109; 207 as 107. Part ii, pp. 45–48 are duplicated by insertion of sig. *ee between Ee and Ff; some copies have 91 mispaged 81, and others have the numeral "1" superior to the "9"; 131 mispaged 141. In part ii, chapter-heading xxiii is in some copies misprinted xxii. The "Continuation" is printed with a smaller type than the remainder of the volume. This is an insert between the blank p. 300 of the "New Discovery" and the half-title called "An | Account | of several | New Diſcoveries | in | North-Amer-

ica." The addition of the "Continuation" evidently was an afterthought, as its erratic position and the difference of the typography both amply show. The plates in part ii are not as good art as in the Tonson 1698 edition, *q. v.* for details.

Plates. — Part i, p. 29, View of Niagara Falls; p. 114, Buffalo. Part ii, p. 9, "The unfortunate Adventures of the Sieur de la Salle"; p. 33, "The Sieur de la Salle unhappily assasinated"; p. 89, "Vnheard of Crueltys of the Iroquois"; p. 157, "Taking of Quebec by the English." Also "A Map of a Large Country Newly Discovered in the Northern America," 17 by 14½ inches; and "A Map of A New World," 17½ by 10⅝ inches.

1698 — TONSON, | EDITION.[1]

A | New Diſcovery | of a | Vaſt Country in America, | Extending above Four Thouſand Miles, | between | New France and New Mexico; | with a | Deſcription of the Great Lakes, Cata- | racts, Rivers, Plants, and Animals. | Alſo, the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Languages of the ſe- | veral Native Indians; and the Advantage of Com- | merce with thoſe different Nations. | With a | Continuation, | Giving an Account of the | Attempts of the Sieur De la Salle upon the | Mines of St. Barbe, &c. The Taking of | Quebec by the Engliſh; With the Advantages | of a Shorter Cut to China and Japan. | Both Parts Illuſtrated with Maps, and Figures, | and Dedicated to His Majeſty K. William. | By L. Hennepin, now Reſident in Holland. | To which are added,

[1] The one followed in the present reprint. — ED.

Several New Diſcoveries in North- | America, not publiſh'd in the French Edition. |

London, Printed for M. Bentley, J. Tonſon, | H. Bonwick, T. Goodwin, and S. Manſhip. 1698. |

Collation.—Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (4); "Contents of the Chapters," pp. (8); text of "A New Diſcovery," pp. 1–243; verso of p. 243 blank; title to "A Continuation of the New Diſcovery," with verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (15); "The Contents," pp. (7); text headed "A Voyage into a Newly Diſcover'd Country," pp. 1–184; "An Account of ſeveral New Diſcoveries in North-America," pp. 185–228. Signatures: A in eight, a in four, B—Q in eights, R in two; A in eight, a in eight, B—M in eights, N in four, O and P in eights, Q in six. In part i, pp. 186 and 206 are mispaged 168 and 106, respectively; no mispaging in part ii.

Plates.—Part i, p. 24, View of Niagara Falls; p. 90, Buffalo. Part ii, p. 9, "The Unfortunate adventures of Monsr. de la Salle"; p. 33, "The Murther of Monsr. de la Salle"; p. 98, "The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois"; p. 161, "The Taking of Quebec by The English." The two plates in part i are the same as those in the Bon- | edition, except that the page reference of each plate has been altered to conform to this edition. The plates in part ii are superior to those in the Bon- | edition, and all but one have the engraver's name, "M. Vander Gucht Scul:". In this Tonson edition the plates

of part ii are reversed from those in the Bon- | edition. The two large folded maps are the same as in the Bon- | edition.

1699 Edition.

A | New Diſcovery | of a | Vaſt Country in America, | Extending above Four Thouſand Miles, | between | New France & New Mexico; | with a | Deſeription [*sic*] of the Great Lakes, Cataracts, | Rivers, Plants, and Animals. | Alſo, the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Languages of the ſeveral | Native Indians; And the Advantage of Commerce with | thoſe different Nations. | With a | Continuation | Giving an Account of the | Attempts of the Sieur de la Salle upon the | Mines of St. Barbe, &c. The Taking of Quebec | by the Engliſh; With the Advantages of a | ſhorter Cut to China and Japan. | Both Illuſtrated with Maps, and Figures; and Dedicated | to His Majeſty King William. | By L. Hennepin now Reſident in Holland. | To which are added, Several New Diſcoveries in North- | America, not Publiſh'd in the French Edition. |

London, Printed by for Henry Bonwicke, at the Red Lion | in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1699. |

Collation. — Engraved frontispiece, with short title at top; title, verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (8); "The Preface," pp. (4); "The Contents of the Chapters," pp. (6); text of "A New Diſcovery," pp. 1–138, 155–170, 161–240 (total 234); title to "A Continuation of the New Diſcovery," with verso blank, 1 leaf; Dedication, pp. (6); "The Preface," pp. (11);

"The Contents," pp. (5); text headed "A Voyage into a Newly Diſcover'd Country," pp. 1–173; "An Account of ſeveral New Diſcoveries in North-America," pp. 174–216. Signatures: A—Hh in eights.

Plates. — These are the same as in the Tonson | 1698 edition, with the page references changed, and one plate shifted to part i from part ii. The six plates should be located thus: Part i, p. 22, View of Niagara; p. 51, "The Taking of Quebec by The English" (shifted in this edition, as above); p. 86, Buffalo. Part ii, p. 8, "The Unfortunate adventures of Monsr. de la Salle"; p. 31, "The Murther of Monsr. de la Salle"; p. 92, "The Cruelty of The Savage Iroquois." The two maps are the same as in the 1698 editions.

A

New Discovery

OF A

Vast Country in AMERICA.

Extending above Four Thousand Miles,

BETWEEN

New France *and* New Mexico;

WITH A

Description of the Great *Lakes*, *Cataracts*, *Rivers*, *Plants*, and *Animals*.

Also, the *Manners*, *Customs*, and *Languages* of the several Native *Indians*; and the Advantage of Commerce with those different Nations.

WITH A

CONTINUATION,

Giving an ACCOUNT of the

Attempts of the Sieur *De la SALLE* upon the Mines of *St. Barbe*, &c. The Taking of *Quebec* by the *English*; With the Advantages of a Shorter Cut to *China* and *Japan*.

Both Parts Illustrated with *Maps*, and *Figures*, and Dedicated to His Majesty K. *William*.

By *L. Hennepin*, now Resident in *Holland*.

To which are added, Several *New Discoveries* in *North-America*, not publish'd in the *French* Edition.

LONDON, Printed for *M. Bentley*, *J. Tonson*, *H. Bonwick*, *T. Goodwin*, and *S. Manship*. 1698.

[iii] TO

His moſt Excellent Majeſty

WILLIAM III.

King of Great Britain, *&c.*

SIR,

THIS Account of the greateſt DISCOVERY that has been made in this Age, of ſeveral Large Countries, ſituate between the *Frozen Sea* and *New Mexico*, I make bold humbly to Dedicate to your Majeſty. Having liv'd Eleven Years[1] in the *Northern America*, I have had an Opportunity to penetrate farther into that Unknown Continent than any before me; wherein I have diſcover'd New Countries, which may be juſtly call'd the *Delights of that New World.* [iv] They are larger than *Europe*, water'd with an infinite number of fine Rivers, the Courſe of one of which is above 800 Leagues

[1] This is an exaggerated statement, for Hennepin in his *Louisiane* distinctly states that he returned to Canada, from his Western voyage, in 1681; and he clearly implies (pp. 309, 310) that he went back to France in the same year. As he first came to Canada with Bishop Laval (1675), his entire sojourn in America was but six years. Cf., however, his own explanation of this statement in section 4 of the Preface to part ii (our vol. ii) of the present work.—ED.

long, ſtock'd with all ſorts of harmleſs Beaſts, and other Things neceſſary for the Conveniency of Life; and bleſs'd with ſo mild a Temperature of Air, that nothing is there wanting to lay the Foundation of one of the Greateſt Empires in the World.

I ſhould think my ſelf very happy, and ſufficiently rewarded for my Laborious Travels, if they could any ways contribute to make thoſe Countries better known, under the Glorious Name of Your Majeſty; and if through Your Royal Protection I might ſerve as Guide to your Subjects, to carry into thoſe Parts the Light of the Goſpel, and the Fame of your Heroical Virtues: My Name would be bleſs'd amongſt thoſe numerous Nations, who live without Laws and Religion, only becauſe no body endeavours [v] to inſtruct them; and they would have the Happineſs of being converted to the Chriſtian Faith, and the Advantage of ſeeing at the ſame time, their Fierceneſs and rude Manners ſoftned and civiliz'd, by the Commerce of a Polite and Generous Nation, rul'd by the moſt Magnanimous King in the World.

This Enterprize is worthy of Your Majeſty, who never frames but Noble Deſigns, and purſues them with ſuch a Prudence and Vigour, that they are always crown'd with a Glorious Succeſs.

I dare not preſume to give here a particular Account of what Your Majeſty's unparallell'd Valour and Prudence have done for the Felicity of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the *United Provinces;* the Happineſs of your Kingdoms, and

the Mildneſs of Your Majeſty's Government, proclaim that Truth to all the World, as alſo the Tranquillity of the *United Netherlands*, [vi] amidſt a dreadful War, which ravages moſt Parts of *Europe*. Your Majeſty drove back a formidable Enemy, who had penetrated into their very Heart, and keeps him ſince at ſuch a diſtance, that they have nothing to fear from his Ambitious Deſigns.

The reſt of *Europe* is no leſs indebted to Your Majeſty than your own Kingdoms and the *United Netherlands;* for Your Majeſty expoſes every Year your Life, at the Head of your Armies and theirs, to protect their Country and preſerve their Liberties from a fatal Invaſion. The Allies know, and own with Gratitude, That Your Majeſty's Prudence, and the great Reſpect which ſo many Princes have for your Perſonal Merit, are the only Cement that was able to maintain the Great Alliance. into which *Europe* is enter'd for its Preſervation.

Your Majeſty's Glorious Atchievements being a Theme above my Pen, [vii] I muſt not preſume to ſpeak of them; but my Religion obliges me to mention what I have ſeen with my own Eyes, and publiſh to all the World, That I have ſeen Your Majeſty *Preſerving*, with the utmoſt Care, *Our Churches* in the *Netherlands*, while *Others*, who, by a Principle of Conſcience, were oblig'd to Protect them, left them expos'd to the Inſolence of their Soldiers, violating in the face of the Sun the Reſpect all Chriſtians owe them.

It is this great Generoſity and Equity of your Majeſty,

as much as your other incomparable Exploits, which have gain'd you the Eſteem and the Hearts of all Chriſtian Princes, one alone excepted; and have engag'd the King of *Spain* my lawful Sovereign, the moſt Catholick Prince in the World, to make ſo ſtrict an Alliance with Your Majeſty.

That Great Monarch being too remote from the *Netherlands* to defend [viii] his Dominions, has found in Your Majeſty a Valiant and Truſty Defender; who being ſeconded by the Invincible Elector of *Bavaria*, protects the *Spaniſh* Dominions againſt a Prince, who makes all Poſſible Efforts to deprive his Catholick Majeſty thereof, notwithſtanding their Proximity of Blood, and his profeſſing the ſame Religion.[1]

His Catholick Majeſty having therefore ſo often experienc'd, that Your Majeſty's Royal Word is more firm than other Princes Treaties and Solemn Oaths, could not alſo but leave his Dominions to your Diſpoſal; ſhewing by that unparallell'd Piece of Truſt, how much he relies upon Your Majeſty's Honour, and what Eſteem he has for your Royal Vertues, which are mix'd with no manner of Imperfections.

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[1] In 1689 William III of England had declared war against France, on account of the aid given by Louis XIV to the deposed king of England, James II. This was quickly followed by an alliance of the leading European powers against France, mainly inspired by their dread of Louis's growing ambition. This war, in which William was probably the most distinguished and influential of the allied princes, was finally terminated by the peace of Ryswick (October 30,1697). The King of Spain at this time was Charles II; the heir to his crown was Ferdinand, elector of Bavaria, but that prince died on February 6, 1699.—Ed.

I don't queſtion but many, out of Envy or Malice, will blame me for entring into Your Majeſty's Service; [ix] but I care very little for what they ſay, ſince it is by the Permiſſion of his Catholick Majeſty, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Superiours of my Order. I deſign to keep the Integrity of my Faith, and ſerve faithfully the Great Monarch who has honour'd me with his Royal Protection. I owe my Services to the Generous Protector of my Country, and of our Altars, who beſides has ſo kindly receiv'd me at his Court, while other Princes neglected me, or forbad me their Preſence. It is then out of Gratitude, that I devote my ſelf to Your Majeſty's Service, and in order to contribute to the Converſion of the ſeveral Nations I have diſcover'd, and to the Advantage of your Subjects, if they will improve this Opportunity, and make Plantations in a Country, which is ſo fertile as to afford Two Crops every Year.

The Gentleman with whom I began this Diſcovery, had form'd great [x] Deſigns, and eſpecially upon the Mines of St. *Barbe* in *New Mexico;* but his Tragical Death prevented their execution.[1]

I humble beſeech Your Majeſty to accept this Publick

[1] A reference to the noted explorer, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, who was murdered by some of his own followers (March 19, 1687), while searching for the Mississippi River that he might secure aid for his starving colonists at Matagorda Bay, Texas.

The mines here mentioned were those of Santa Barbara, located in the San Bartolomé valley, in what is now Southern Chihuahua, Mexico—a region notable for the richness of its silver mines. A Spanish settlement was made there about 1563.—Ed

Mark of my Reſpect and Gratitude; having pray'd the Almighty for the Preſervation of Your Sacred Majeſty's Perſon, and the Proſperity of your Reign, I beg leave to ſubſcribe my ſelf, with all the Submiſſion and Reſpect imaginable,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY'*s*

Moſt Humble, moſt Faithful, and

Moſt Obedient Servant,

F. Louis Hennepin,

Miſſionary Recollect.[1]

[1] The Recollects (Fr. *Récollets*), thus termed because they devoted themselves to religious meditation (*récollection*), were the most austere of all the Franciscan orders. Missionaries from this order were brought to New France by Champlain in 1615, and labored among the Indian tribes until the seizure of Canada by the English in 1629, when both they and the Jesuits were sent back to France. The Recollects did not again enter Canada until 1670, when Talon brought over some of them, apparently to serve as a check on the Jesuits. Most of their work was among the French colonists, whom they often served as curés.—Ed.

THE PREFACE.

I *PRESENT here the Reader with the Firſt Part of the Account of the Voyage I made from the Year* 1679, *to the Year* 1682, *in the Northern* America; *in which I diſcover'd a Country, unknown before me, as large or larger than* Europe. *I had reſolved long ago to oblige the Publick with it; but my Reſolution was prevented by ſome Reaſons, which it would be too long to relate.*

'Tis true, I publiſh'd part of it in the Year 1684, *in my Account of* Louiſiana; *Printed at* Paris *by Order of the* French *King; but I was then oblig'd to ſay nothing of the Courſe of the River* Meſchaſipi, *from the Mouth of the River of the* Illinois *down to the Sea, for fear of diſobliging M.* la Salle, *with whom I began my Diſcovery. This Gentleman wou'd alone have the Glory of having diſcover'd the Courſe of that River: But when he heard that I had done it two Years before him, he could never forgive me, though, as I have ſaid, I was ſo modeſt* [xii] *as to publiſh nothing of it. This is the true cauſe of his Malice againſt me, and of all the barbarous Uſage I have met with in* France; *which they carry'd ſo far, as to oblige the Marquis* de Louvois *to command me to depart the* French *King's Dominions; which I did willingly, tho' I ſaw ſufficient Grounds to believe this Order was forg'd after Monſieur* de Louvois *was dead.*

The pretended Reaſons of that violent Order, were, becauſe I

refuſed to return in-[to] America, *where I had been already Eleven Years; tho' the particular Laws of our Order oblige none of us to go beyond-Sea againſt their Will. I would have however return'd very willingly, had I not ſufficiently known the Malice of M.* la Salle, *who wou'd have expos'd me, to make me periſh, as he did one of the Men who accompany'd me in my Diſcovery. God knows, that I am ſorry for his unfortunate Death; but the Judgments of the Almighty are always juſt; for that Gentleman was kill'd by one of his own Men, who were at laſt ſenſible that he expos'd them to viſible Dangers, without any Neceſſity, and for his private Deſigns.*

I preſented ſome time after a Petition to the French *King, while he was encamp'd at* Harlemont *in* Brabant, *ſetting forth my Services, and the Injuſtice of my Enemies; but that Prince had ſo many Affairs,* [xiii] *that, I ſuppoſe, they hinder'd him from conſidering my Petition; and ſo I cou'd obtain no Satisfaction. I continu'd ſince at* Goſſeliers *and* Aeth; *and juſt as they were raiſing another Perſecution againſt me, the Divine Providence brought me acquainted with Mr.* Blathwait, *Secretary of War to his Majeſty* William the Third, *King of* Great Britain; *who, by Order of His Majeſty, wrote a Letter to Father* Payez, *General Commiſſary of our Order at* Louvain, *to deſire him to give me leave to go* Miſſionary *into* America, *and to continue in one of the United Provinces, till I had digeſted into Order the* Memoires *of my Diſcovery. This General Commiſſary being informed that the King of* Spain, *and the Elector of* Bavaria *conſented that I ſhou'd enter into the Service of His Majeſty of* Great Britain, *granted me what I deſir'd, and ſent me to* Antwerp, *to take there in our*

Convent a Lay-Habit; and from thence I went into Holland, *having receiv'd ſome Money from Mr.* Hill, *by Order of Mr.* Blathwait.

I deſign'd to live at Amſterdam *for ſome time; but ſome Reaſons oblig'd me to go to* Utrecht, *where I finiſh'd this Firſt Volume of the Account of my Diſcovery; which I hope will prove advantageous to* Europe, [xiv] *and eſpecially to the* Engliſh *Nation, to whoſe Service I entirely devote my ſelf.*

I cannot ſufficiently acknowledge the Favours of Mr. Blathwait, *who has ſo generouſly provided for my Subſiſtence, and did me the Honour to preſent me to His Majeſty before his Departure for* England. *I am alſo very much oblig'd to the Duke of* Ormond, *and the Earl of* Athlone, *for the Civilities I have receiv'd from them: They have often admitted me to their Table, and granted ſeveral Protections in* Flanders *upon my Recommendation.*

I hope the Reader will be pleas'd with the Account of my Diſcovery; not for the Fineneſs of the Language, and the Nobleneſs of the Expreſſion, but only upon Account of its Importance, and of the Sincerity wherewith 'tis written. The Bookseller has added a Map, and ſome other Cutts, which are an Ornament to the Book, and very uſeful for the better underſtanding of it.

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A MAP of a Large Country Newly Discovered in the NORTHERN AMERICA Situated between NEW MEXICO And the Frozen Sea together with the Course of the Great River MESCHASIPI Dedicated to his Maty WILLIAM III King of Great Britain By Father LEWIS HENNEPIN Missionary Recollect and Apostolic Notary

French Leagues 25 50 75 100 125 150

English Miles 75 150 225 300 375 450

HUDSONS BAY

Brador

NEW FRANCE or CANADA

NEW ENGLAND

NEW NETHERLANDS

VIRGINIA

FLORIDA

GULFE OF MEXICO

NEW MEXICO

PART OF NEW SPAIN

Lake of Lice

Lake of the Assenipoils

Chonigaskaby or Nation of strong men

Port Nelson

Cape Henrietta Maria

Lake Piscontagamy

English Habitations

Lake Timagaming

The 7 Iland

Outoulibis or Fort to stop the Assenipoils

Lake St Joseph

Lake Changas Keton

Nadouessans

Issati

Tinthona or Nation of the Meadows

Acoutamiskan

Lake of Tibitibis

Tadousac

St Laurence or Canada Riv

Michipicoten R

Cristinaux

Lake Mipising

St Johns Lake

Gaspesie

Quebec

Isl of Orleans

R St Francis

The upper Lake

The Leapers

Fall

Fall of St Anthony

Combeau R

Lake of Providence

Portage

Outtaouatz

Missilimakinac

Cantolon

Fall

The Fr River

R Outtaouack

Fall

Fall

Lakes St Peter

Pintagouet

Lake Huron

or Karegnondi

Lake of Tears

Black R

R of Oxen

The Illinois

Portage

Kitchiga

Ocitagan

Kikapaus

Cape Puans

Lake of the Illinois

Poutouatamis

Orisconsing R

Mississipi R

Lake Erie or of the Cat

Lake Ontario or Frontenac

Village of the Iroquois

Lake Naraa

Fall St Lewis

Moutral

Lake Champlain or Irontis

Boston

Bristol

Plimouth

Holland

Malabar

Long I

Petenoc

New York

Philadelphia

Pensilvania

C May

Zud R

Chesapeak Bay

Trafalgar

Carolina

Apalachin

Coca

Akansa

Ouma R

Coenis

Taensa

Hiens R

The Corca

Quinipissa

Sablonniere R

Quoaquis

Mouth of the Meschasipi

Bay of Spirito Sancto

Port Grande

Mines of St Barbe

River of Magdaleo

Tascaluca

Edelano

Ytacucho

St Mather

St Austin

Cape Canaueral

Bahama

Cape Carlos

Cape Florida

Canal of Bahama

C Agnada

Bimini

Lucayes

Retiques

Great Villages of the Tsonnontouans

Tegarondies

Oneiout

Ouse R

Houtto R

Creeckronois

Pouhatan

Maskoutens

Lake St Claire

Cape Francois

Fall of Niagara

Lake Erie

Lake Huron

Lake Ontario

Frontenac

Agnies

Iroquois

Mascoutens

Fort of Crevecoeur

Fort of Miamis

Cole Mine

Illinois R

Oltenta R

Masowites

Cape St Anthony

Tamaroa R

Chiquacha

Chicagua R

Akansa

Ouma R

Coenis

Taensa

Hiens R

The Corca

Quinipissa

Sablonniere R

Quoaquis

River of Magdaleo

Mouth of the Meschasipi

Bay of Spirito Sancto

Port Grande

Mines of St Barbe

Cape Carlos

Cape Florida

Canal of Bahama

C Agnada

Bimini

Lucayes

Retiques

Cape Canaueral

Bahama

Chesapeak Bay

Trafalgar

Carolina

Apalachin

Coca

Edelano

Tascaluca

Ytacucho

St Mather

St Austin

Pouhatan

Creeckronois

Lake Erie or of the Cat

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Lake St Claire

Cape Francois

Fall of Niagara

Lake Erie

Lake Huron

Lake Ontario

Frontenac

Agnies

Iroquois

Village of the Iroquois

Lake Naraa

Fall St Lewis

Moutral

Lake Champlain or Irontis

Boston

Bristol

Plimouth

Holland

Malabar

Long I

Petenoc

New York

Philadelphia

Pensilvania

C May

Zud R

Fort of Miamis

Cole Mine

Illinois R

Fort of Crevecoeur

A

New Diſcovery

OF A

Country greater than *EUROPE*;

Situated in America, *betwixt* New-Mexico *and the* Frozen-Sea.

The Occaſion of undertaking this Voyage.

MEN are never weary of contemplating thoſe Objects that are before their Eyes, becauſe they diſcover a thouſand raviſhing Excellencies therein, capable to afford 'em both Satisfaction and Inſtruction. The Wonders they there meet with, are ſo ſurpriſing, and (as it were) enchanting, that they are neceſſarily engaged to ſurvey the ſame with all poſſible Exactneſs, in order to ſatisfie their natural Curioſity, and inform their Minds.

The Condition of Travellers is very near the ſame. They're never weary of making new Diſcoveries. They're indefatigable in rambling through unknown Countries and Kingdoms not mention'd [2] in Hiſtory; feaſting their Minds with the Satisfaction of gratifying and enriching the World with ſomething unheard of and whereof they had never any Idea

before. 'Tis true, ſuch Enterprizes expoſe 'em to infinite Fatigue and Danger: But herewith they ſolace themſelves, and perſevere to ſuffer all with Pleaſure in that they hope to contribute thereby both to the publick Good, and to the glory of God, while at the ſame time they are gratifying their own natural Inclinations; and hence it is, they are ſo powerfully bent to make theſe Diſcoveries, to ſeek out ſtrange Countries and unknown Nations, whereof they had never before heard of.

Thoſe whoſe Aim in undertaking Voyages, is to enlarge the Bounds of Chriſt's Kingdom, and advance the Glory of God, do upon that Proſpect alone valiantly venture their Lives, making 'em of no Account. They endure the greateſt Fatigues, and traverſe the moſt unpaſſable Ways and horrid Precipices, in order to the Execution of their Deſigns; being puſh'd on by the Hopes they entertain of Promoting by theſe means the Glory of him who created 'em, and under whoſe Conduct they undertake ſuch toilſome Voyages.

It's uſual to ſee ſome undaunted Men boldly encounter the moſt frightful of Deaths, both in Battles and in dangerous Voyages: they are ſuch as are not diſcouraged by all the Hazards that ſurround 'em either by Sea or Land; nothing being able to withſtand the Valour and Courage that prompts 'em to attempt any thing. Therefore is it, that we ofttimes ſee 'em ſucceed in obtaining their Deſigns, and compaſſing their moſt difficult Enterprizes. Yet it's to be acknowledg'd, that if they took a ſerious View before hand, of the Perils they're about to encounter, and conſider'd 'em in cold Blood,

they would perhaps find Difficulty to perſuade themſelves into ſuch reſolute Thoughts; at leaſt, they would [3] not form their Deſigns after ſuch a daring and fearleſs manner. But generally ſpeaking, they do not ſurvey their Dangers beforehand, any otherwiſe than by the Lump, and with a tranſient View; and having once ſet their Hands to the Work, Occaſion engages 'em inſenſibly, and entices 'em further on than they cou'd have believ'd at firſt. Inſomuch that many of the great Diſcoveries owing to Voyages, are rather the Reſult of Chance, than any well form'd Deſign.

Something of the ſame Nature has happen'd to my ſelf in the Diſcovery I now bring to Light. I was from my Infancy very fond of Travelling; and my natural Curioſity induc'd me to viſit many Parts of *Europe* one after another. But not being ſatisfied with that, I found my ſelf inclin'd to entertain more diſtant Proſpects, and was eager upon ſeeing remoter Countries and Nations that had not yet been heard of; and in gratifying this natural Itch, was I led to this Diſcovery of a vaſt and large Country, where no *European* ever was before my ſelf.

'Tis true indeed, I could not foreſee the Embaraſſing Difficulties and Dangers I muſt of neceſſity encounter with in this my painful Voyage. Nay, perhaps the very Thoughts of 'em might have diſcourag'd and ſcar'd me from attempting a Deſign ſo laborious and toilſome, and environ'd with ſuch frightful Difficulties. But maugre all theſe Diſcouragements, I've at length perfected my Deſign, the Undertaking of which was enough to frighten any other but my ſelf. In

which I've ſatisfy'd my Deſires, both in regard to the curioſity I had to ſee new Countries, and ſtrange Faces; and alſo upon the Account of my Reſolution to employ and dedicate my ſelf to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls.

Thus it was that I diſcover'd a wonderful Country never known till now; of which I here give an ample [4] Deſcription; and (as I think) circumſtantiated enough: It being divided into ſeveral ſmall Chapters, for the Conveniency of the Reader. I hope the Publick will return me Thanks for my Pains, becauſe of the Advantage that may accrue to it by the ſame. However the World's Approbation ſhall ſufficiently recompenſe all the Trouble and Dangers I've gone through.

I am not inſenſible of the Reflections I ſhall meet with from ſuch as never dar'd to travel themſelves, or never read the Hiſtories of the Curious and Brave, who have given Relations of the ſtrange Countries they have taken upon them to ſee; I doubt not but that ſort of Cattle will account of this my Diſcovery as being falſe and incredible. But what they ſay ſhall not trouble me much: They themſelves were never Maſters of the Courage and Valour which inſpires Men to undertake the glorious Enterprizes that gain 'em Reputation in the World, being confin'd within narrow Bounds, and wanting a Soul to atchieve any thing that can procure 'em a diſtinguiſhing and advantageous Character among Men. It were better therefore for ſuch to admire what they cannot comprehend, and reſt ſatisfy'd in a wiſe and profound Silence, than thus fooliſhly to blame what they know nothing of.

Travellers are generally accus'd of venting an Infinity of

Lyes and Impoſtures: But Men of a magnanimous and firm Courage are above ſuch ſilly Raileries: For when they've done all to blacken our Reputation, we ſhall ſtill receive for our Reward, the Eſteem and Approbation of Men of Honour, who being endow'd with knowing and penetrating Souls, are capable to give an equal and impartial Judgment of Travels, and of the juſt Merit of ſuch as have hazarded their Lives for the Glory of God, and the Good of the Publick. It is this happy and agreeable Recompence that makes the daring Travellers [5] ſo valiantly expoſe themſelves to all manner of Fatigues and Dangers, that by ſo doing, they may become uſeful to Mankind.

CHAP. I.

The Motives which engag'd the Author of this Diſcovery to undertake the Voyage, whereof you have here a Relation.

I ALWAYS found in my ſelf a ſtrong Inclination to retire from the World, and regulate my Life according to the Rules of pure and ſevere Virtue: and in compliance with this Humour, I enter'd into the *Franciſcan Order*, deſigning to confine my ſelf to an auſtere Way of Living. I was over-joy'd then, when I read in Hiſtory the Travels and Voyages of the Fathers of my own Order, who indeed were the firſt that undertook Miſſions into any foreign Country. And oft-times repreſented to my ſelf, that there could be nothing greater or more glorious than to inſtruct the Ignorant and Barbarous, and lead 'em to the light of the Goſpel; and having remark'd, that the *Franciſcans* had behav'd themſelves in this Work with a great deal of Zeal and Succeſs, I found this begat in my Mind a Deſire of tracing their Footſteps, and dedicating my ſelf after their Example, to the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls.

In reading the Hiſtory of our Order, I obſerv'd, that in a general Aſſembly held in the Year 1621, it was reckon'd, that ſince the firſt going of the Reverend Father *Martin de Valence* (one of our firſt Reformers) into *America*, there had been

five hundred Convents of Recollects, eſtabliſh'd in that New World, and diſtributed into Two and twenty Provinces. As I advanc'd in Years, this Inclination to travel did ſo much the more fix it ſelf in my Mind. It is true, [6] one of my Siſters that was marry'd at *Ghent*, and whom I lov'd very tenderly, did diſſuade me from my Deſign as much as ſhe could, and never ceas'd to redouble her Sollicitations to that purpoſe, while I had occaſion to be with her in that great City, whither I had gone to learn the *Dutch* Language: But being ſollicited on the other hand, by many of my Friends at *Amſterdam*, to go to the *Eaſt-Indies*, my natural Inclination, join'd to the Influence of their Requeſts, did move me much, and had almoſt determin'd me to undertake a Sea-Voyage.

Seeing then that all the Remonſtrances of my Siſter could not diſſuade me from travelling, I firſt undertook a Journey into *Italy;* and in Obedience to the Orders of my Superiour, viſited all the great Churches, and moſt conſiderable Convents of our Order, both in that Country, and in *Germany;* which did in ſome meaſure gratifie the Curioſity of my Temper. But having return'd to the *Netherlands*, the Reverend Father *William Herinx*, late Biſhop of *Ipres*, manifeſted his averſeneſs to the Reſolution I had taken of continuing to travel, by detaining me in the Convent of *Halles* in *Hainault*, where I was oblig'd to perform the Office of Preacher for a Year. After which, with the Conſent of my Superiour, I went into the Country of *Artois*, from whence I was ſent to *Calais*, to act the part of a *Mendicant* there in time of Herring-ſalting.

Being there, I was paſſionately in love with hearing the

Relations that Maſters of Ships gave of their Voyages. Afterwards I return'd to our Convent at *Biez*, by the way of *Dunkirk:* But I us'd oft-times to ſculk behind the Doors of Victualling-Houſes, to hear the Sea-men give an Account of their Adventures. The Smoak of Tobacco was offenſive to me, and created Pain in my Stomach, while I was thus intent upon giving ear to their Relations: But for all I was very attentive to the Accounts they gave of [7] their Encounters by Sea, the Perils they had gone through, and all the Accidents which befell them in their long Voyages. This Occupation was ſo agreeable and engaging, that I have ſpent whole Days and Nights at it without eating; for hereby I always came to underſtand ſome new thing, concerning the Cuſtoms and Ways of Living in remote Places; and concerning the Pleaſantneſs, Fertility, and Riches of the Countries where theſe Men had been.

This confirm'd me more and more in my former Reſolution; and that I might advance it yet further, I went Miſſionary into moſt part of the Towns of *Holland;* and ſtopp'd at length at *Maſtreicht*, for eight Months together, where I adminiſter'd the Sacraments to above Three thouſand wounded Men: In which Occupation I ventur'd many Dangers among the Sick People, being taken ill both of a Spotted Fever and a Dyſenterie, which brought me very low, and near unto Death: But God at length reſtor'd me to my former Health, by the Care and Help of a very skilful *Dutch* Phyſician.

The ſingular Zeal I had for promoting the Good of Souls, engag'd me the Year following to be preſent at the Battle of

Seneffe, where I was buſied in adminiſtring Comfort to the poor wounded Men: Till at length, after having endur'd all manner of Fatigue and Toil, and having run the riſque of extreme Dangers at Sieges of Towns in the Trenches, and in Fields of Battel, (where I never ceas'd to expoſe my ſelf for the good of Mens Souls) while theſe bloody Men were breathing nothing but Slaughter and Blood, I happily found my ſelf in a condition to ſatisfie my firſt Inclination: For I then receiv'd Orders from my Superiours to go for *Rochel*, in order to embark in Quality of Miſſionary for *Canada*. Within Two Leagues of that City I perform'd the Function of a Curate near two Months; being invited ſo to do by the Paſtor of the Place, who had occaſion [8] to be abſent from his Charge. But afterwards I totally reſign'd my ſelf to the Providence of God, and begun a Voyage of Twelve or Thirteen hundred Leagues over, and perhaps the greateſt that can be made by Sea.

I embark'd in the Company of Mr. *Francis de Laval*, created then Biſhop of *Petrée in partibus Infidelium*, and ſince Biſhop of *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada;* and now my Inclination to travel increas'd more and more: Yet I ſtaid in that Country four Years, and was ſent thence in Miſſion, while the Abbot of *Fenelon*, preſent Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, reſided there.[1]

[1] The statements of this paragraph are inexact. François de Laval de Montmorency had been bishop of Petræa since 1658, and came to Canada in the following year as vicar apostolic of New France. Not until Oct. 1, 1674, was the see of Quebec erected, Laval being its first bishop, a dignity which he held until his resignation in 1685. Returning to Canada three years later, he spent the rest of his life there, dying at Quebec May 6, 1708.

The Fénelon who labored in Canada was not the noted archbishop, but his

I ſhall not here recount the ſeveral Adventures of our Voyage, nor the Fights we were engag'd in with the Ships of *Turkey*, *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, who attempted ſeveral times to have taken us; but without ſucceſs. Nor ſhall I ſtay to relate our Approach to *Cape Breton*, where we beheld with incredible Delight, the Battle ordinarily fought betwixt the Fiſhes call'd *Eſpadons* [swordfish] and the Whales, their mortal Enemies; neither am I to detain my Reader with an Account of what vaſt Quantities of Fiſh we took at Forty Fathom Water, upon the Great Bank of *New-found-Land;* or what great Numbers of Ships we rencounter'd with, that were bound thither from different Nations to fiſh in theſe Places, which afford ſuch infinite Numbers of all manner of Fiſhes. Theſe diverting Sights were very agreeable to all our Crew, which was then about an Hundred Men ſtrong, to three Fourths of whom I adminiſtred the Sacraments, they being Catholicks. I perform'd likewiſe Divine Service every Day while the Weather was calm; and we ſung the Itinerary of the Clergy, tranſlated into *French* Verſe, after the Evening Prayers.

[9] Thus we ſweetly paſs'd our Time a-board, 'till at length we arriv'd at *Quebec*, the Capital City of *Canada*.

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half-brother, François de Salignac, abbé de Fénelon. This priest, a Sulpitian, was a missionary among the Cayugas at Quinté Bay from 1668 to 1673. In the following year he was sent back to France by Frontenac, having incurred the governor's displeasure. — ED.

CHAP. II.

The Means by which the Author accuſtom'd himſelf to endure the Travail and Fatigue of his laborious Miſſion.

MR. *Francis de Laval*, Biſhop of *Petrée*, having taken poſſeſſion of the Biſhoprick of *Quebec*, which was conferr'd upon him by Pope *Clement* X. and that contrary to the Sentiments of many Perſons of Quality, who, by means of his Preferment, were fruſtrated of their own Pretenſions: This Reverend Prelate (I ſay) having taken into conſideration the Fervency of my Zeal in Preaching the Goſpel in my Voyage, my aſſiduous Diligence in performing Divine Service, and the Care I had taken to hinder the Young Fellows of our Crew from keeping looſe Company with the Women and Maids that came along with us (for which I had oft-times been rewarded with Anger and Hatred;) theſe Reaſons, and ſuch like, procur'd me the Favour and Applauſe of this Illuſtrious Prelate, he obliging me to preach in *Advent* and *Lent* to the Cloiſter of St. *Auguſtin*, in the Hoſpital of *Quebec*.

But in the mean while, all this did not ſatisfie my natural Inclination: I us'd oft-times to go ſome Twenty or Thirty Leagues off the Town to ſee the Country, wearing a little Hood, and making uſe of large Rackets,[1] without which I

[1] These were snowshoes, called by the Canadians *raquettes*.—Ed.

had been in danger of falling headlong over fearful Precipices. Sometimes to eaſe my ſelf a little, I made a great Dog I had brought with me, drag my little Baggage along, that I might arrive the ſooner at *Trois Rivieres*, *St. Anne*, and Cape *Tourmente*, *Bourgroyal*,[1] the Point *de Levi*, [10] and at the Iſland of *St. Laurence*,[2] whither I deſign'd to go. There I aſſembled together, in one of the largeſt Cottages of that Country, as many People as I could gather; whom in ſome time I admitted to Confeſſion, and to the Holy Communion. In the Night-time I had nothing to cover me but a Cloak; and ſometimes the Froſt pierc'd to my very Bones, which oblig'd me to make a Fire five or ſix times in a Night, to prevent my freezing to death. My Commons alſo were very ſhort, ſcarce more than to keep me from ſtarving.

In the Summer-ſeaſon I was oblig'd, in order to continue my *Miſſion*, to travel in Canou's, that is, a ſort of little Boats (which I ſhall deſcribe hereafter) that they make uſe of in Lakes and Rivers: Which ſort of Contrivance ſucceeded well enough where the Water was ſhallow, or about two or three Foot deep; But when we came to any deeper Place, then the Boat, which was round underneath, was in danger of overturning, inſomuch that I had certainly periſh'd in the Water, had not I taken a circumſpect Care of my ſelf.

However, I found my ſelf oblig'd to travel after this manner, for there were no paſſable Roads in this Country; it

[1] A small settlement near Quebec, probably at the entrance of Cap Rouge River, where Jacques Cartier wintered in 1541–2, calling his post Charlesbourg-Royal.—Ed.

[2] A reference to Orleans Island.—Ed.

being impoſſible to travel over-land in theſe new Colonies, becauſe of that infinite number of Trees and Woods that beſet them on all ſides, which muſt needs be cut down or burn'd before any paſſable Way be made.

[11] CHAP. III.

A Deſcription of thoſe Canou's that they make uſe of in the Summer-time in America, *for the Conveniency of travelling.*

THESE Canou's are round underneath, as I ſaid but now, and pointed at the two Ends, not unlike the *Venetian* Gondals: Without them it were impoſſible to travel in *America*, for the Country is full of vaſt and wide-extended Foreſts: Beſides, the impetuous Winds ſometimes pluck up the Trees by the Roots, and Time it ſelf ranverſes great numbers of 'em, which tumbling down through Age, are piled ſo one upon another, that the Ways are totally embaraſs'd, and render'd unpaſſable.

The Savages are very ingenious in making theſe Canou's: They make them of the Bark of Birch-Trees, which they pull very neatly off that ſort of Trees, they being conſiderably bigger than thoſe of *Europe*. They betake themſelves to this Work generally about the end of Winter, in the vaſt Foreſts that lie towards the Northern Parts of theſe Countries.

For ſupporting this Bark they line it within with Ribs or Pieces of white Wood, or Cedar, about four Fingers broad; this they furbiſh up with ſmall Poles made ſmooth, that make the Circumference of the Canou; then by other Poles going a-croſs, about an Inch, or an Inch and a half thick, which are

very ſmoothly poliſh'd; theſe they join on both ſides to the Bark by ſmall Roots of Trees cloven in two, not much unlike the Willows that we make our Baskets of in *Europe*.

Theſe Canou's have no Rudder, as the bigger Shallops have, for they row them along merely by the [12] force of their Arms with ſome ſmall Oars; and can turn them with an incredible ſwiftneſs, and direct them whither they liſt. Thoſe that are accuſtom'd to manage them, can make 'em ſail at a wonderful rate, even in calm Weather; but when the Wind is favourable, they are expedite to a Miracle; for they then make uſe of little Sails made of the ſame Bark, but thinner than that of the Canou's. As for the *Europeans*, that by long uſage come to be well verſ'd in this ſort of Tackling, they make uſe of about four Ells of Linen Cloth, hoiſted up on a little Maſt, the Foot of which ſtands in a Hole made in a ſquare piece of light Wood, that is faſtned betwixt the Ribs and the Bark of the Canou's towards the Bottom.

Thoſe that are well skill'd in managing theſe Canou's, can ſail Thirty or Thirty five Leagues in a Day down a River, and ſometimes more in Lakes, if the Wind be favourable: But ſome of 'em are much bigger than others. They carry generally about a Thouſand pound Weight, ſome Twelve hundred, and the biggeſt not above Fifteen hundred pounds. The leaſt of 'em can carry Three or four hundred pound weight, together with two Men or Women to ſteer them along. But the Greater muſt have Three or Four Men to manage them, and ſometimes when Buſineſs requires Expedition, Seven or Eight to quicken their pace.

CHAP. IV.

Other Motives that induc'd the Author more forcibly to undertake this Diſcovery.

I WAS paſſionately zealous, in imitation of many Fathers of my Order, for enlarging the Limits of Chriſtianity, and converting the barbarous *Americans* to the Belief of the Goſpel; and in purſuance [13] of that Deſign, I look'd upon the Employment of a *Miſſionary* as a moſt Honourable Poſt for me; ſo that whenever I found the opportunity of a Miſſion, I willingly embrac'd it; tho' it oblig'd me to travel more than Twelve hundred Leagues off *Canada:* Yet I perſuaded ſeveral to accompany me in my Voyage; and neglected not any thing that might tend to the furtherance of my Deſign.

At firſt, for a Trial I was ſent in Miſſion about a Hundred and twenty Leagues beyond *Quebec.* I went up by the way of the River St. *Laurence*, and arriv'd at length at the brink of a lake call'd by the Natives *Ontario*, which I ſhall deſcribe hereafter. Being there, I perſwaded ſeveral of the barbarous *Iroqueſe*, to cultivate the Ground, and prepare ſome Wood for building a Lodge for us. Then I made them erect a Croſs of an extraordinary heighth and bigneſs; and built a Chapel near to the Lake, and ſettled my ſelf there, with another of my own Order, by Name, Father *Luke Buiſſet*, whom I had

induc'd to come along with me, and who died ſince in our *Franciſcan* Convent upon the *Sambre:* I ſhall have occaſion afterwards to ſpeak of him, for that we cohabited in *Canada* for a long time, and were Fellow-Labourers in our Settlement at *Catarokouy*[1]; which was the Place where we oft-times concerted the Meaſures of making this Diſcovery I am about to relate. I there gave my ſelf much to the reading of Voyages, and encreas'd the Ambition I had to purſue my Deſign, from what Light the Savages imparted to us in that matter: In fine, I plainly perceiv'd by what Relations I had receiv'd of ſeveral Particulars in different Nations, that it was a matter of no great difficulty to make conſiderable Eſtabliſhments to the South-Eaſt of the great Lakes; and that by the conveniency of a great River call'd *Hoio* [Ohio], which paſſes through the Country of the *Iroqueſe*, a Paſſage might be made into the Sea at Cape *Florida*.

[14] While I reſided in that place, I made ſeveral little Tours, ſometimes with the Inhabitants of *Canada*, that we had brought along to ſettle at our Fort of *Catarokouy;* ſometimes in company of the Savages alone, with whom I convers'd frequently. And as I foreſaw that the *Iroqueſe* might become jealous and ſuſpicious of our Diſcoveries, I reſolv'd to make a Tour round their Five Cantons; and in purſuance of this Deſign, threw my ſelf among 'em, being accompany'd only with a Soldier of our Fort, who travell'd with me Seventy Leagues, or near the Matter, on this Occaſion; we having our

[1] The Iroquois name of the place where Frontenac built, in 1673, the fort long called by his name, on the site of the present city of Kingston, Ont.—Ed.

Feet arm'd with large Rackets, to prevent the Injury of the Snow, which abounds in that Country in time of Winter.

I had already acquir'd ſome ſmall knowledge of the *Iroqueſe* Language; and while I travell'd in this manner among them, they were ſurpriz'd to ſee me walk in the Midſt of Snow, and lodge my ſelf in the wild Foreſts that their Country is full of. We were oblig'd to dig four Foot deep into the Snow, to make Fire at Night, after having journey'd Ten or Twelve Leagues over-day. Our Shoes were made after the Faſhion of thoſe of the Natives, but were not able to keep out the Snow, which melted as ſoon as our Feet touch'd it, it having receiv'd heat from the motion of us walking along. We made uſe of the Barks of Trees to cover us when we went to ſleep; and were carefully ſollicitous to keep in great Fires to defend us from the nipping Colds. In this loneſome Condition ſpent we the Nights, waiting the welcome return of the Sun, that we might go on in our Journey. As for Food, we had none, ſave the *Indian* Corn grinded ſmall, which we diluted with Water, to make it go down the better.

Thus we paſs'd through the Countries of the *Honnehiouts* and *Honnontages*,[1] who gave us a very kind [15] reception,

[1] The tribes included in the Iroquois League (called by themselves "the Long House" or "the Five Cabins," and by English writers usually "the Five Nations") were thus located: The westernmost and largest were the Senecas (Tsonnontouans); their principal villages were at the present Mendon and Victor, N. Y. Next were the Cayugas (Oiogouins, or Goyogouins), near Savannah and Union Springs. The Onondagas (Onnontaés, Honnontages) were the central and most influential of these tribes, near Manlius and Jamesville. East of them were the Oneidas (Onneiouts, Honnehiouts), in Madison county. Finally came the Mohawks (called by the French Agniers or Aniés), occupying the lower part of the Mohawk River valley; these were apparently the fiercest, most implacable, and most treacherous of the five tribes. For

and are the moſt Warlike People of all the *Iroqueſe*. When they ſaw us, they put their Forefingers to their Mouths ſignifying how much ſurpris'd they were at the troubleſom and difficult Journey we had made in the middle of Winter. Then looking upon the mean and mortifying Habit of St. *Francis*, they cry'd aloud, *Hetchitagon!* that is, Bare-foot; and did with all manner of paſſion and aſtoniſhment pronounce the Word *Gannoron;* intimating, that it muſt needs have been a Buſineſs of great Importance that mov'd us to attempt ſuch a difficult Journey at ſo unſeaſonable a time.

Theſe Savages regal'd us with Elk and Veniſon, dreſs'd after their own faſhion, which we eat of, and afterwards took leave of 'em, going further on in our Journey. When we departed, we carry'd our Bed-cloaths on our Backs, and took with us a little Pot to boyl their Corn in. We paſs'd through Ways that were overflown with Water, and ſuch as wou'd have been unpaſſable by any *European:* For when we came at vaſt Marſhes and overflowing Brooks, we were oblig'd to crawl along by the Trees. At length with much difficulty we arriv'd at *Ganniekez*, or *Agniez*, which is one of the Five Cantons of the *Iroqueſe*, ſituated about a large Day's Journey from *New-Holland*, call'd now *New-York:* Being there, we were forc'd to ſeaſon our *Indian* Corn (which we were wont to bruize betwixt two Stones) with little Frogs that the Natives gather'd in the Meadows towards *Eaſter*, when the Snow was all gone.

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more detailed information regarding these peoples, see *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites's edition — the one cited throughout these notes), viii, pp. 293, 297–301; and li, pp. 293–295 (with map).—Ed.

We ſtay'd ſome time among theſe People, lodging with a *Jeſuite* that had been born at *Lions*, to tranſcribe an *Iroqueſe* Dictionary.[1] When the Weather began to be more favourable, we chanc'd one day to meet with three *Dutch*-men on Horſe-back, who had come thither to traffick in Beavers Skins: They were ſent thither by Major *Andrews*, who is [16] the Perſon that ſubdu'd *Boſton* and *New-York* for the King of *England*, and is at preſent Governour of *Virginia*.[2]

Theſe Gentlemen alighted from their Horſes, that we might mount 'em, taking us along with them to *New-Orange* to be regal'd there. As ſoon as they heard me ſpeak *Dutch*, they teſtify'd a great deal of Friendſhip to me, and told me they had read ſeveral Hiſtories of the Diſcoveries made by thoſe of our *Franciſcan* Order in the Northern Parts of *America*, but had never before ſeen any wear the Habit in theſe Countries as we did. They likewiſe expreſs'd the great Deſire they had to have me ſtay among them, for the Spiritual Comfort and Advantage of many Catholicks who had come from our *Netherlands*, and ſetled there: And I ſhould very willingly have yielded to their Intreaties in reſiding there, but that I was afraid of giving any Jealouſie to the *Jeſuites*, who had receiv'd me very Kindly; and beſides, I was aware of [their] injuring the Colony of *Canada*, in reſpect to the

[1] Apparently a reference to Jacques Bruyas, a missionary among the Iroquois from 1667 until his death in 1712. He was an able linguist, and left a MS. grammar of the Mohawk language, the oldest known to exist. This was published by the regents of the University of New York, in their *Sixteenth Annual Report of State Cabinet* (Albany, 1863), pp. 3–123.—Ed.

[2] Sir Edmund Andros, long the governor of New York colony, and later of Virginia.—Ed.

Commerce they had with the Savages of my Acquaintance in Beavers and Skins. We therefore having teſtifyed how much oblig'd we were to the Gentlemen for their Kindneſs, return'd again to *Catarokouy* with much leſs difficulty than we went. But all this had no other effect than to augment the Itching I had to diſcover remoter Countries.

CHAP. V.

A Deſcription of Fort Catarokouy, *call'd ſince Fort* Frontenac.

THIS Fort is ſituated a Hundred Leagues from *Quebec* (the Capital City of *Canada)* up the River *St. Laurence* Southwards. It is built near to the [17] Place where the Lake *Ontario* (which is as much as to ſay, the pretty Lake[1]) diſcharges it ſelf. It was ſurrounded with a Rampart, great Stakes and Paliſado's, and four Baſtions, by the Order of Count *Frontenac*, Governour-General of *Canada.* They found it neceſſary to build this Fort for a Bulwark againſt the Excurſions of the *Iroqueſe*, and to interrupt the Trade of Skins that theſe Savages maintain with the Inhabitants of *New-York*, and the *Hollanders*, who have ſettled a new Colony there; for they furniſh the Savages with Commodities at cheaper Rates than the *French* of *Canada.*

The *Iroqueſe* are an Inſolent and barbarous Nation, that has ſhed the Blood of more than Two millions of Souls in that vaſt-extended Country. They would never ceaſe from diſturbing the Repoſe of the *Europeans*, were it not for fear of their Fire-Arms: For they entertain no Commerce with

[1] Many writers say that the word Ontario means "beautiful lake"; but Horatio Hale thinks that its original signification was "great lake" (*Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 176).—Ed.

them, ſave in the Merchandiſe-Goods they ſtand in need of, and in Arms, which they buy on purpoſe to uſe againſt their Neighbours; and by the means of which, they have compaſs'd the Deſtruction of an infinite Number of People, extending their bloody Conqueſt above 5 or 600 Leagues beyond their own Precincts, and exterminating whatever Nations they hate.

This Fort, which at firſt was only ſurrounded with Stakes, Paliſado's, and earthen Ramparts, has been enlarg'd ſince the commencement of my Miſſion into theſe Countries, to the circumference of Three hundred and ſixty Toiſes (each of theſe being ſix Foot in length[1]) and is now adorn'd with Free-Stone, which they find naturally poliſh'd by the ſhock of the Water upon the brink of the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac*. They wrought at this Fort with ſo much diligence and expedition, that in two Years time it was advanc'd to this perfection, by the Care and Conduct of Sieur-Cavelier *de la Sallé*, who was a *Norman* [18] born; a Man of great Conduct and profound Policy. He oft-times pretended to me, that he was a *Pariſian* by Birth,[2] thinking thereby to engage Father *Luke Buiſſet* before-Mention'd, and me, to put more confidence in him: For he had quickly obſerv'd from our ordinary Converſation, that the *Flemins*, and ſeveral other Nations, are prone to be jealous of the *Normans*. I am ſenſible that there are Men of

[1] The toise is a French linear measure, of six French feet, equivalent to 6.395 English feet.— Ed.

[2] For biography of La Salle, see Parkman's *La Salle* (citations in the present work are made from the edition of 1892); Gravier's *Découvertes et établissements de Cavelier de la Salle* (Paris, 1870); *Jes. Relations*, lvii, pp. 315–317, and lx, 319, 320.— Ed.

Honour and Probity in *Normandy*, as well as elſewhere; but nevertheleſs it is certain, that other Nations are generally more free, and leſs ſly and intriguing, than the Inhabitants of that Province of *France*.

This Fort *Frontenac* lies to the Northward of this Lake, near to its Mouth, where it diſcharges it ſelf; and is ſituated in a *Peninſula*, of which the *Iſthmus* is digg'd into a Ditch. On the other ſide, it has partly the Brink of the Lake ſurrounding it, partly a pretty ſort of a natural Mould, where all manner of Ships may ride ſafely.

The Situation of this Fort is ſo advantageous, that they can eaſily prevent the Sallies and Returns of the *Iroqueſe;* and in the ſpace of Twenty four Hours, can wage War with them in the Heart of their own Country. This is eaſily compaſs'd by the help of their Barques, of which I ſaw Three all deck'd and mounted, at my laſt departure thence. With theſe Barques, in a very little time, they can convey themſelves to the South-ſide of the Lake, and pillage (if it be needful) the Country of the *Tſonnontouans*, who are the moſt numerous of all the Provinces of the *Iroqueſe*. They manure a great deal of Ground for ſowing their *Indian* Corn in, of which they reap ordinarily in one Harveſt as much as ſerves 'em for two Years: Then they put it into Caves digg'd in the Earth, and cover'd after ſuch a manner, that no Rain can come at it.

[19] The Ground which lies along the Brink of this Lake is very fertile: In the ſpace of two Years and a half that I reſided there in diſcharge of my *Miſſion*, they cultivated more

than a hundred Acres of it. Both the *Indian* and *European* Corn, Pulſe, Pot-Herbs, Gourds, and Water-Melons, throve very well. It is true indeed, that at firſt the Corn was much ſpoil'd by Graſhoppers; but this is a thing that happens in all the Parts of *Canada* at the firſt cultivating the Ground, by reaſon of the extream Humidity of all that Country. The firſt Planters we ſent thither, bred up Poultry there, and tranſported with them Horned Beaſts, which multiply'd there extreamly. They have ſtately Trees, fit for building of Houſes or Ships. Their Winter is by three Months ſhorter than at *Canada*. In fine, we have all the reaſon to hope, that e're long, a conſiderable Colony will be ſettled in that Place. When I undertook my great Voyage, I left there about Fifteen or Sixteen Families together,[1] with Father *Luke Buiſſet* a *Recollet*, with whom I had us'd to adminiſter the Sacraments in the Chapel of that Fort.

While the Brink of the Lake was frozen, I walk'd upon the Ice to an *Iroqueſe* Village, call'd *Ganneouſe*, near to *Kentè*, about nine Leagues off the Fort,[2] in company of the Sieur *de la Salle* above-mention'd. Theſe Savages preſented us with the Fleſh of Elks and Porcupines, which we fed upon. After having diſcours'd them ſome time, we return'd, bringing with us a conſiderable number of the Natives, in order to form a little Village of about Forty Cottages to be inhabited by

[1] These were French colonists, drawn to Fort Frontenac by La Salle, who made them grants of land, and was their feudal seignior.— ED.

[2] In 1668, Sulpitians from Montreal began a mission at Quinté (Kenté) Bay, on the north side of Lake Ontario, among a colony of Cayugas who had recently settled there. The Sulpitians were replaced by Recollect missionaries, about 1673.—ED.

them, lying betwixt the Fort and our Houſe of Miſſion. Theſe Barbarians turn'd up the Ground for ſowing of *Indian* Corn and Pulſe, of which we gave them ſome for their Gardens. We likewiſe taught them, contrary to their uſual cuſtom of eating, to feed upon Soupe, made with Pulſe and Herbs, as we did.

[20] Father *Luke* and I made one Remark upon their Language, that they pronounc'd no Labial Letters, ſuch as *B*, *P*, *M*, *F*. We had the Apoſtolick Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and our ordinary Litany, tranſlated into the *Iroqueſe* Language, which we caus'd them to get by heart, and repeat to their Children; and forc'd their Children to pronounce as we did, by inculcating to them the Labial Letters, and obliging 'em to frequent converſe with the Children of the *Europeans* that inhabited the Fort; ſo that they mutually taught one another their Mother-Languages; which ſerv'd likewiſe to entertain a good Correſpondence with the *Iroqueſe*.

Theſe Barbarians ſtay'd always with us, except when they went a hunting; which was the thing we were much concern'd about: for when they went for five or ſix Months ravaging through their vaſt huge Foreſts, and ſometimes Two hundred Leagues from their ordinary abode, they took their whole Family along with them. And thus they liv'd together, feeding upon the Fleſh of the wild Beaſts they kill'd with the Fire-Arms they us'd to receive of the *Europeans*, in exchange of their Skins: And it was impoſſible for any Miſſionary to follow them into theſe wild Deſarts; ſo that their Children being

abſent all the ſeaſon of Hunting, forgot what we had inſtill'd into them at Fort *Frontenac*.

The Inhabitants of *Canada* towards *Quebec*, *Trois Rivieres*, and the Iſle of *Mon[t]real*, being ſick of their long Winters; and ſeeing thoſe of the *Franciſcan* Order ſettle themſelves at *Frontenac*, where the Winter was three Months ſhorter, many of 'em reſolv'd to tranſport their Families thither, and reſide there. They repreſented to themſelves the Advantage that ſhould accrue to them, by having the Sacraments adminiſtred, and their Children educated by us, and that for nothing; for we ordinarily took no Compenſation for the Inſtruction we gave.

[21] There have always been ſome ſort of People who endeavour'd to render themſelves Maſters of *Canada*, and become Arbiters and Judges over all the Settlements there; for the compaſſing of which Deſign, they left no means untry'd. They attributed to themſelves the Glory of all the Good Succeſs that was had there: They diſpers'd their Miſſionaries over all the Country, and endeavour'd to obſtruct all our Deſigns at Fort *Frontenac*. In fine, they oblig'd our *Recollets* to remove thence by the help of the Marquiſs *de Benonville*, the then Governour of *Canada*, whom they had wheedled into their Intereſts, and who had ſuffer'd himſelf to be impos'd upon by the Artifices of theſe Men.[1]

I hope, that ſome time or other God will re-eſtabliſh our

[1] A sarcastic allusion to the Jesuits. Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, was governor of New France from August, 1685 to October, 1689.— Ed.

poor Monks in that Place; for their Deſigns were always innocent and good; and they could never have been made to retire thence, without doing them Injuſtice. God leaves nothing unpuniſh'd: The Day ſhall come when he ſhall take Vengeance on thoſe who did this Injury. I heard ſome time ago, that the *Iroqueſe*, who wage continual War with the *French* of *Canada*, have ſeiz'd the Fort of *Catarockouy*[1]; as alſo that the cruel Savages did ſmoak in their Pipes ſome of the Fingers of thoſe who had procur'd the departure of our poor *Recollets* from that Fort; and that the preſent Inhabitants of *Canada* have upbraided thoſe who were the Authors of that Injuſtice, with it.

[1] In 1689 Denonville, feeling unable to maintain Fort Frontenac, ordered its abandonment; it was soon after seized by the Iroquois, who found therein large quantities of stores and ammunition. Orders were given by Louis XIV, in the following year, that the walls of the fort be razed; but it was restored by Frontenac in 1695. See *Jes. Relations*, lxiv, pp. 97, 276.—Ed.

CHAP. VI.

A Deſcription of ſome Freſh-water Lakes, the greateſt and the pleaſanteſt in the Univerſe.

HERE commence the Deſcription of the moſt remarkable Things in this great Diſcovery, that the Reader may the more eaſily attain to a full Knowledge [22] of our Voyage, by following the Map we have provided for that purpoſe.

The Lake *Ontario* receiv'd the Name of the Lake *Frontenac*, from the Illuſtrious Count *de Frontenac*, Governour-General of *Canada*. All the World is acquainted with the Merit and Vertue of that Noble Perſon: It is likewiſe well known, how ancient that Family is from which he is deſcended, and what a glorious Train of Illuſtrious Anceſtors went before him, who were always thought worthy of the moſt weighty Employments both Civil and Military! His Family was always inviolably firm to the Intereſts of their Sovereign, even in the moſt perplex'd Times: Nay, I may ſay upon this occaſion, without giving Offence to the other Governours of *Canada*, that have either preceded, or are to ſucceed him, That this Country was never govern'd with ſo much Wiſdom, Moderation, and Equity, as by the Count *de Frontenac*.

I know very well, that thoſe Men who aſpire to be Maſters over all, have endeavour'd to blacken his Reputation, to

eclipſe his Glory, and render him ſuſpected. But I am bound to ſay, to the Praiſe of that Illuſtrious Nobleman, That for all the Ten Years he liv'd in that Country, he was a Father to the Poor; a Protector to thoſe that were in danger of being oppreſs'd; nay, in ſhort, his Converſation was a perfect Model of Vertue and Piety. Thoſe of his Countrymen who were ſtirr'd up againſt him, by an Effect of their natural Levity and Fickleneſs, had the Mortification to ſee him re-eſtabliſh'd in that very ſame Government, of which their Calumnies and malignant Intrigues had endeavour'd to diſpoſſeſs him. They had engag'd the Intendant of *Cheſneau* in the ſame Combination, having over-reach'd him by their cunning Artifices. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe unjuſt Cenſures, I came to underſtand of late, that they regret much the want of that Illuſtrious Count.[1]

[23] It was therefore in Honour of this Worthy Count, that they gave to the Lake the Name of *Frontenac*, in order to perpetuate his Memory in that Country. This Lake is Eighty Leagues long, and Twenty five Leagues broad: It

[1] Louis de Buade, count de Frontenac, was probably the ablest and most distinguished, except Champlain, among the governors of New France. Appointed in 1672, he governed the colony with great ability, and kept the Iroquois tribes in awe; but his fiery temper and headstrong will so involved him in quarrels with both civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and with the fur-traders, that Louis XIV, losing patience, recalled him in 1682. The inefficiency of his successors made it necessary to send him back to Canada (1689), which he saved from what seemed imminent destruction. In 1696, he led in person an expedition into the Iroquois country, effectually breaking the power of that ferocious people. Frontenac died on Nov. 28, 1698, regretted by the people. Although hostile to the Jesuits, and little inclined toward the diocesan authorities at Quebec, he had always favored and aided the Récollets; hence Hennepin's somewhat extravagant laudation.

Jacques Duchesneau was intendant of Canada from 1675 to 1682.— Ed.

abounds with Fiſhes, is deep, and navigable all over. The Five Cantons, or Diſtricts, of the *Iroqueſe*, do inhabit for the moſt part the South-ſide of this Lake, *viz.* the *Ganniegez*, or *Agniez* (the nigheſt Neighbours to *New-Holland*, or *New-York*) the *Onnontagues*, or thoſe who live in the Mountains, who are the moſt Warlike People of all that Nation; the *Onneiouts* and *Tſonnontouans* the moſt populous of them all. There are likewiſe on the South-ſide[1] of the Lake, theſe *Iroqueſe* Villages, *viz. Tejajagon*, *Kenté*, and *Ganneouſſe*, which is not diſtant from *Frontenac* above Nine Leagues.

The great River of *St. Laurence* derives its Source from the Lake *Ontario*, which is likewiſe call'd in the *Iroqueſe* Language, *Skanadario;* that is to ſay, a very pretty Lake. It ſprings likewiſe partly from the Lakes that are higher up in the Country, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve afterwards.

This Lake *Ontario* is of an Oval Figure, and extends it ſelf from Eaſt to Weſt. Its Water is freſh and ſweet, and very pleaſant to drink; the Lands which border upon it being likewiſe very fertile. It is very navigable, and can receive large Veſſels: Only in Winter it is more difficult, becauſe of the outrageous Winds which are frequent there. From this Lake one may go by Barques, or by greater Veſſels to the foot of a great Rock[2] that is about two Leagues off the Fall of the River *Niagara*, which I am now to deſcribe.

[1] Evidently an oversight of Hennepin's English translator, for these Cayuga villages were all on the north side of Lake Ontario.— Ed.

[2] O. H. Marshall says (Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, i, pp. 265, 266): "This 'great rock' can still be seen under the western end of the old Suspension bridge, the ruins of which now span the river at that point . . . and perpetuates his memory under the name of 'Hennepin's Rock.'"— Ed.

[24] CHAP. VII.

A Deſcription of the Fall of the River Niagara, *that is to be ſeen betwixt the Lake* Ontario *and that of* Erié.

BETWIXT the Lake *Ontario* and *Erié*, there is a vaſt and prodigious Cadence of Water which falls down after a ſurprizing and aſtoniſhing manner, inſomuch that the Univerſe does not afford its Parallel. 'Tis true, *Italy* and *Suedeland* boaſt of ſome ſuch Things; but we may well ſay they are but ſorry Patterns, when compar'd to this of which we now ſpeak. At the foot of this horrible Precipice, we meet with the River *Niagara*, which is not above half a quarter of a League broad, but is wonderfully deep in ſome places. It is ſo rapid above this Deſcent, that it violently hurries down the wild Beaſts while endeavouring to paſs it to feed on the other ſide, they not being able to withſtand the force of its Current, which inevitably caſts them down headlong above Six hundred foot.

This wonderful Downfall is compounded of two great Croſs-ſtreams of Water, and two Falls, with an Iſle ſloping along the middle of it.[1] The Waters which fall from this vaſt height, do foam and boil after the moſt hideous manner

[1] Goat Island, with the so-called "Horseshoe" and "American" falls.— Ed.

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[24] CHAP. VII.

A Deſcription of the Fall of the River Niagara, betwixt the Lake Ontario and that of Erie.

BETWIXT the Lake *Ontario* and *Erie*, there is a prodigious Cadence of Water which falls down after a furprizing and aſtoniſhing manner, inſomuch that the like does not afford its Parallel. 'Tis true, *Italy* and *Swiſſerland* boaſt of ſome ſuch Things; but we may well ſay they are ſorry Patterns, when compar'd to this of which we now Treat. At the foot of this horrible Precipice, we meet with the River *Niagara*, which is not above half a quarter of a League broad, but is wonderfully deep in ſome places. The Fall is ſo great in this Deſcent, that it violently hurries down the Boats and Canoes, while endeavouring to paſs it to feed on the other Lakes, not being able to withſtand the force of its Current, which inevitably caſts them down headlong above Six hundred Foot.

This wonderful Downfall is compounded of two great Croſs-ſtreams of Water, and two Falls, with an Iſle lying along the middle of it.[1] The Waters which fall from a vaſt height, do foam and boil after the moſt hideous manner

[1] Goat Island, with the so-called "Horseshoe" and "American" falls.



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imaginable, making an outrageous Noiſe, more terrible than that of Thunder; for when the Wind blows from off the South, their diſmal roaring may be heard above fifteen Leagues off.

The River *Niagara* having thrown it ſelf down this incredible Precipice, continues its impetuous courſe for two Leagues together, to the great Rock above-mention'd, with an inexpreſſible Rapidity: But having paſs'd that, its Impetuoſity relents, gliding [25] along more gently for two Leagues, till it arrives at the Lake *Ontario* or *Frontenac.*

Any Barque or greater Veſſel may paſs from the Fort to the foot of this huge Rock above-mention'd. This Rock lies to the Weſtward, and is cut off from the Land by the River *Niagara*, about two Leagues farther down than the great Fall; for which two Leagues the People are oblig'd to carry their Goods over-land; but the way is very good, and the Trees are but few, and they chiefly Firrs and Oaks.

From the great Fall unto this Rock, which is to the Weſt of the River, the two Brinks of it are ſo prodigious high, that it would make one tremble to look ſteadily upon the Water, rolling along with a Rapidity not to be imagin'd. Were it not for this vaſt Cataract, which interrupts Navigation, they might ſail with Barks or greater Veſſels, above Four hundred and fifty Leagues further, croſs the Lake of Hurons, and up to the farther end of the Lake *Illinois* [Michigan]; which two Lakes we may well ſay are little Seas of freſh Water.

Sieur *de la Salle* had a deſign to have built a Fort at the Mouth of the River *Niagara;* and might eaſily have compaſs'd it, had he known how to have kept himſelf within bounds, and to be confin'd there for one Year. His deſign was to curb and keep under the *Iroqueſe*, and eſpecially the *Tſonnontouans*, who are the moſt numerous People, and the moſt given to War of all that Nation. In ſhort, ſuch a Fort as this might eaſily have interrupted the Commerce betwixt theſe People and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in *New-York*. Their cuſtom is to carry to *New-York* the Skins of Elks, Beavers, and ſeveral ſorts of Beaſts, which they hunt and ſeek after ſome 2 or 300 Leagues from their own home. Now they being oblig'd to paſs and repaſs near to this Mouth of the River *Niagara*, we might eaſily ſtop them by fair means in time of [26] Peace, or by open force in time of War; and thus oblige them to turn their Commerce upon *Canada*.

But having obſerv'd that the *Iroqueſe* were puſh'd on to ſtop the Execution of this Deſign, not ſo much by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, as by the Inhabitants of *Canada*, who many of them endeavour'd by all means to traverſe this our Diſcovery; they contented themſelves to build a Houſe at the Mouth of the River to the Eaſtward, where the Place was naturally fortifi'd.[1] On one ſide of this Houſe there is a very good Haven, where Ships may ſafely ride; nay, by the help of a Capſtane, they may eaſily be hall'd upon Land. Beſides, at

[1] La Salle built (1679) a blockhouse on the point of land at the eastern angle between Lake Ontario and the Niagara River. Various fortifications have since occupied this site, at present that of Fort Niagara.— Ed.

this Place they take an infinite quantity of Whitings, Sturgeons, and all other ſorts of Fiſhes, which are incomparably good and ſweet; inſomuch, that in the proper Seaſon of Fiſhing, they might furniſh the greateſt City in *Europe* with plenty of Fiſh.

CHAP. VIII.

A Deſcription of the Lake Erié.

THE *Iroqueſe* give to this Lake the Name of *Erié Tejocharontiong*, which extends it ſelf from Eaſt to Weſt perhaps a hundred and forty Leagues in Length. But no *European* has ever ſurvey'd it all; only I and thoſe who accompany'd me in this Diſcovery, have view'd the greater Part of it, with a Veſſel of Sixty Tun burden, which we caus'd to be made on purpoſe, about two Leagues above the forementionʼd Fall of *Niagara*, as I ſhall have occaſion to obſerve more largely hereafter.

This Lake *Erie*, or *Tejocharontiong*, encloſes on its Southern Bank a Tract of Land as large as the Kingdom of *France*. It divides it ſelf at a certain place into two Channels, becauſe of a great Iſland enclos'd betwixt them[1]: Thus continuing its courſe for fourteen [27] Leagues, it falls into the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, and this is that which they call the River *Niagara*.

Betwixt the Lake *Erie* and *Huron*, there is almoſt ſuch another Streight thirty Leagues long,[2] which is of an equal

[1] Grand Island; the two divisions of the river are known as Chippewa and Tonawanda channels.—Ed.

[2] Detroit and St. Clair Rivers.— Ed.

breadth almoſt all over, except in the middle, that it enlarges it ſelf by help of another Lake, far leſs than any of the reſt, which is of a circular Form about ſix Leagues over, according to the Obſervation of our Pilot. We gave it the Name of Lake *St. Claire*, though the *Iroqueſe*, who paſs over it frequently when they are upon Warlike Expeditions, call it *Otſi Keta*. The Country which borders upon this moſt agreeable and charming Streight, is a pleaſant Champagne Country, as I ſhall relate afterwards. All theſe different Rivers, which are diſtinguiſh'd by ſo many different Names, are nothing elſe but the Continuation of the great River *St. Laurence;* and this Lake *St. Claire* is form'd by the ſame.

CHAP. IX.

A Deſcription of the Lake Huron.

THE Lake *Huron* was ſo call'd by the People of *Canada*, becauſe the Savage *Hurons*, who inhabited the adjacent Country, us'd to have their Hair ſo burn'd, that their Head reſembled the Head of a Wild Boar.[1] The Savages themſelves call it the Lake *Karegnondy*. Heretofore the *Hurons* liv'd near this Lake, but they have been in a great meaſure deſtroy'd by the *Iroqueſe*.[2]

The Circumference of this Lake may be reckon'd to be about Seven hundred Leagues, and its Length Two hundred; but the Breadth is very unequal. To the Weſt of it near its Mouth, it contains ſeveral great Iſlands, and is navigable all over. Betwixt this Lake and that of the *Illinois*, we meet with another [28] Streight, which diſcharges it ſelf into this Lake, being about Three Leagues long, and One broad, its Courſe running Weſt-North-Weſt.[3]

There is yet another Streight or narrow Canal towards

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[1] When first encountered by the French, these savages so dressed their hair that it formed one or more ridges upon the head, suggesting the bristles of a wild boar (Fr. *hure*). See *Jes. Relations*, xvi, pp. 229, 231; xxxviii, 249.— Ed.

[2] In 1649–50 the Huron tribes, then living in the peninsula between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, were attacked and nearly destroyed by the Iroquois. The remnants of the Hurons then dispersed, taking refuge, some at Quebec, some among friendly Algonquian tribes, and others along Lake Huron.— Ed.

[3] The Strait of Mackinac.—Ed.

the upper Lake (that runs into this of *Huron*) about Five Leagues broad, and Fifteen Leagues long, which is interrupted by ſeveral Iſlands, and becomes narrower by degrees, till it comes at the Fall of *St. Mary*. This Fall is a Precipice full of Rocks, over which the Water of the upper Lake, which flows thither in great abundance, caſts it ſelf with a moſt violent Impetuoſity: Notwithſtanding which, a Canou may go up it on one ſide, provided the People in it row vigorouſly.[1] But the ſafer way is to carry the Canou over-land for ſo little a ſpace, together with the Commodities that thoſe of *Canada* carry thither to exchange with the Savages that live to the Northward of the upper Lake. This Fall is call'd the Fall of *St. Mary Miſſilimakinak*. It lies at the Mouth of the upper Lake, and diſcharges it ſelf partly into the Mouth of the Lake *Illinois* towards the great Bay of *Puans*[2]; all which ſhall afterwards be more fully diſcours'd of, when I come to relate our Return from *Iſſati*.

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[1] The St. Mary's River; and the rapids therein, at the present city of Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.—Ed.

[2] A name applied to Green Bay, on the western side of Lake Michigan. See Thwaites's *Father Marquette* (N. Y., 1902), pp. 146–148, for origin and explanation of the term.—Ed.

CHAP. X.

A Deſcription of the Lake call'd by the Savages Illinouack, *and by the* French, Illinois.

THE Lake *Illinois*, in the Natives Language, ſignifies *The Lake of Men;* for the word *Illinois* ſignifies *a Man of full Age in the vigour of his Years.* It lies on the Weſt of the Lake *Huron*, ſtanding North and South, and is about a Hundred and twenty, or a Hundred and thirty Leagues in Length, and Forty in Breadth, being in Circuit about Four hundred [29] Leagues. It is call'd by the *Miami's*, *Miſchigonong*, that is, *The Great Lake.* It extends it ſelf from North to South, and falls into the Southern-ſide of the Lake *Huron;* and is diſtant from the upper Lake about Fifteen or Sixteen Leagues, its Source lies near a River which the *Iroqueſe* call *Hohio*, where the River *Miamis* diſcharges it ſelf into the ſame Lake.

It is navigable all over, and has to the Weſtward a great Bay call'd the Bay of *Puans*, by reaſon that the Savages who now inhabit the Land ſurrounding this Bay, had deſerted their former Habitation, becauſe of ſome ſtinking (in *French Puans*) Waters towards the Sea that annoy'd them.

CHAP. XI.

A ſhort Deſcription of the Upper Lake.

THIS Upper Lake runs from Eaſt to Weſt, and may have more than a Hundred and fifty Leagues in length, Sixty in breadth, and Five hundred in circuit. We never went quite over it, as we did over all the others I've hitherto mention'd; but we ſounded ſome of its greateſt Depths, and it reſembles the Ocean, having neither Bottom nor Banks.

I ſhall not here ſtay to mention the infinite numbers of Rivers that diſcharge themſelves into this prodigious Lake, which together with that of *Illinois*, and the Rivers that are ſwallow'd in them, make up the Source of that great River *St. Laurence*, which runs into the Ocean at the Iſland of *Aſſumption*[1] towards *New-found-land.* We ſail'd upon this River about Six hundred Leagues from its Mouth to its Source.

I've already obſerv'd, That all theſe Lakes may well be call'd Freſh-water Seas. They abound extreamly [30] in Whitings, that are larger than Carps, and which are extraordinary good; nay, at Twenty or Thirty Fathom Water, there are Salmon-Trouts taken of Fifty or Sixty pound

[1] The name applied by Jacques Cartier to the large island at the mouth of the St. Lawrence now known as Anticosti.— ED.

weight. It were eaſie to build on the ſides of theſe great Lakes, an infinite Number of conſiderable Towns, which might have Communication one with another by Navigation for Five hundred Leagues together, and by an inconceivable Commerce which would eſtabliſh it ſelf among 'em. And to be ſure, the Soil, if cultivated by *Europeans*, would prove very fertile. Thoſe that can conceive the Largeneſs and Beauty of theſe Lakes, may eaſily underſtand, by the help of our Map, what courſe we ſteer'd in making the great Diſcovery hereafter mention'd.

CHAP. XII.

What is the Predominant Genius *of the Inhabitants of* Canada.

THE *Spaniards* were the firſt who diſcover'd *Canada;* but at their firſt arrival, having found nothing conſiderable in it, they abandon'd the Country, and call'd it *Il Capo di Nada;* that is, *A Cape of Nothing;* hence by corruption ſprung the Word *Canada*, which we uſe in all our Maps.[1]

Since I left that Country, I underſtand that all things continue very near in the ſame State as they were whilſt I reſided there. Thoſe who have the Government of *Canada* committed to their Care, are mov'd with ſuch a malignant Spirit, as obliges all who do not approve their Deſign, to moan ſecretly before God. Men of Probity that are zealous for Religion, find nothing there of what they expected; but, on the contrary, ſuch Repulſes and ill Uſage, that no body could have foreſeen. Several reſort [31] thither, with a deſign to Sacrifice their Repoſe and Life, to the Temporal and Spiritual Succour of an Infant-Church; but the loſs of Reputation and Honour, are the Sacrifices they're after all forc'd to make. Others go thither in the hopes of ſpending

[1] The name Canada is of Iroquois origin; most historical writers regard it as meaning "village," but some think that it means "lake." See *Jes. Relations*, ii, p. 301.—Ed.

their Lives in Peace and perfect Concord; whereas they meet with nothing but Jarrs, Diviſions, and a Sea of Troubles. In lieu of their fair Hopes, they reap nothing but Croſſes and Perſecution; and all for not pleaſing the Humours of Two or Three Men, who are the over-ruling Wits of that Country. What a vaſt diſparity diſtance there is betwixt the Humor of theſe Men, and our *Flemiſh* Sincerity! I mean that Candour and Evenneſs of Mind which make up the true Character of a Chriſtian, and is obſerv'd every where elſe.

But without entring farther into any Particulars, I leave the Judgment of all unto God; and ſhall only ſay, that we who are *Flemings* by Birth, went to *Canada* without any other private Deſign, having renounc'd our Native Country, meerly for the Service of our Religion, after having quitted all other Enjoyments for embracing a Religious Profeſſion. And therefore it was not a ſmall Surprize to us, upon our arrival in that Country, to ſee our Sincerity and Uprightneſs of Heart ſo ſorrily entertain'd. There is a certain ſort of People, who are jealous of every thing, and whom it is impoſſible to retrieve from under the firſt impreſſions they've receiv'd. Though a Man were never ſo complaiſant, yet if he be not altogether of their Stamp, or if he endeavours to repreſent Things fairly and rationally unto them, tho' with wiſe and ſoft Remonſtrances, yet ſhall he paſs among 'em for a Fellow of a turbulent Spirit. Such Conduct as this, does not ſavour of Chriſtianity, neither doth it beſpeak any other Proſpect than that of temporal Intereſt. This Conſideration mov'd me oft-times to ſay to the Three *Flemiſh* Monks I had [32]

brought to *Canada* with me, that it had been much better for us who had quitted all our Enjoyments, and exchang'd them for the Poverty of a Monaſtick Life, to have gone in Miſſion among Strangers, to preach Repentance to Infidels, and propagate the Kingdom of our Saviour among barbarous Nations.

And indeed kind Providence ſeconded my good Intentions; for the Reverend Father *Germain Allart*[1] Recollet, late Biſhop of *Vence* in *Provence*, ſent me Orders to undertake the Diſcovery which I am about to relate.

[1] This priest was superior of the first party of Récollets who came to Canada in 1670.— ED.

CHAP. XIII.

A Deſcription of my firſt Imbarkment in a Canow at Quebec, *the Capital City of* Canada, *being bound for the South-Weſt of* New-France, *or* Canada.

I REMAIN'D Two Years and a half at Fort *Frontenac*, till I ſaw the Houſe of *Miſſion* finiſh'd, that Father *Luke Buiſſet* and I had caus'd to be built there. This engag'd us in Travels, which inſeparably attend New Eſtabliſhments. Accordingly we went in a Canou down the River St. *Laurence;* and after a Hundred and twenty Leagues ſailing, arriv'd at *Quebec*, where I retir'd into the *Recollets* Convent of St. *Mary*, in order to prepare and ſanctifie my ſelf for commencing our Diſcovery.

And indeed I muſt frankly own, that when at the foot of the Croſs I penſively conſider'd this important Miſſion, weighing it in the Scales of Humane Reaſon, and meaſuring the weight of its Difficulties by Humane Force, it ſeem'd altogether a terrible, as well as a raſh and inconſiderate Attempt. But when I look'd up to GOD, and view'd it as an effect of his Goodneſs, in chuſing me for ſo great a Work, and as his Commandment directed [33] to me by the Mouth of my Superiours, who are the Inſtruments and Interpreters of his Will unto me: Theſe Thoughts, I ſay, preſently inſpir'd

me with Courage and Reſolution to undertake this Diſcovery, with all the Fidelity and Conſtancy imaginable.

I perſuaded my ſelf, that ſince it was the peculiar Work of God, to open the hard Hearts of that barbarous People, to whom I was ſent to publiſh the glad Tidings of his Goſpel, it were as eaſie for him to compaſs it by a feeble Inſtrument, ſuch as I was, as by the moſt worthy Perſon in the World.

Having thus prepar'd my ſelf to enter upon the diſcharge of my *Miſſion*, and ſeeing that thoſe who were expected from *Europe* to bear part in this Diſcovery, were now arriv'd; that the Pilote, Seamen, and Ship-Carpenters were in readineſs, and that the Arms, Goods, and Rigging for the Ships were all at hand; I took with me from our Convent a portable Chapel all compleat for my ſelf, and afterwards went and receiv'd the Benediction of the Biſhop of *Quebec*, together with his Approbation in Writing; which I likewiſe receiv'd of Count *Frontenac*, who was a Man that teſtify'd a great deal of Affection for our *Flemiſh* Recollects, becauſe of our Candour and Ingenuity; and who was pleas'd to give publick Teſtimonie to the Generoſity of my Undertaking, while we were ſet at Table.

In ſhort, I embark'd in a little Canou made of the Barks of Birch-Trees, carrying nothing along with me ſave my portable Chapel, one Blanket, and a Matt of Ruſhes, which was to ſerve me for Bed and Quilt; and this was the whole of my Equipage. It was concerted ſo, that I ſhould go off firſt, that my Departure might oblige the reſt to expedite

their Affairs with ſpeed. The Inhabitants of *Canada*, upon both ſides the River of St. *Laurence*, betwixt *Quebec* and *Montreal*, entreated me to officiate among [34] them, and adminiſter the Sacraments: For they could not aſſiſt at Divine Service oftner than five or ſix times a Year, becauſe there were only Four *Miſſionaries* in that Country for the extent of Fifty Leagues.

I baptiz'd a Child at a certain Place call'd *St. Hour*,[1] and acquainted the abſent Miſſionary of the Place with the ſame; which done, I continu'd my Voyage; and as I paſs'd by *Harpentinie*, the Lord of the Place of one of the ancienteſt Families in *Canada*,[2] would have ſent one of his Sons along with me; but the Canou was too narrow for Four Perſons. At length I arriv'd at *Trois Rivieres*, which is a Town only ſurrounded with Paliſado's, lying about Thirty Leagues higher than *Quebec*. Not meeting there Father *Sixte*,[3] a Recollet-Miſſionary, who was gone from thence in Miſſion, the Inhabitants beſeech'd me to preach and perform Divine Service on the Firſt of *October*. The next day, the Sieur *Bonivet*, Lieutenant-General Juſticiary of that Place, convey'd me a League up the River *St. Laurence*.

The moſt laudable Enterprizes are oft-times retarded by ſurprizing and unexpected Obſtacles; for when I arriv'd at *Montreal*, they debauch'd and entic'd away my Two Boat-

[1] St. Ours, a small town in Richelieu county, Que.—Ed.

[2] A variant of Repentigny, now the name of a village 17 miles N. E. of Montreal. The name was bestowed by its founder, Pierre le Gardeur, sieur de Repentigny, one of the earliest colonists of Canada (1636).—Ed.

[3] Sixte le Tac.—Ed.

Men; ſo that I was forc'd to take advantage of an offer which two other Men made to conduct me along in their little ſhatter'd Boat. Thus was it that thoſe who envy'd the Succeſs of my Undertaking, began to ſet themſelves in oppoſition to it, and endeavour'd to hinder the moſt conſiderable and famous Diſcovery that has been made in that New World in this Age.

In going up the River, as I paſs'd the Lake of *St. Louis*, a little above the Iſle of *Montreal*, which is about Twenty five Leagues in circumference, I obſerv'd that this River St. *Laurence* divides it ſelf into Two Branches; of which one leads to the ancient Country of the *Hurons*, the *Outaouacts*, [35] and ſeveral other Nations ſituate to the Northward[1]; and the other to the Country of the *Iroqueſe*. We went up this laſt for about Sixty Leagues, in moſt rapid and horrible Currents, full of great Rocks, where the Water roars Night and Day like Thunder, for Three or Four Leagues together. All which does not hinder the Boat-Men and their Canou's to deſcend down among theſe huge Rocks with ſo much ſwiftneſs, that thoſe who are in the Canou are for the time quite blinded. They generally carry Elks-Claws and Skins with them, which they exchange for other Goods, with the Savages of that Country.

I ſhall not offer to give any circumſtantial Account of the Accidents that befel me, which are inſeparable Companions of all great Voyages: What is needful to be ſaid is, That I

[1] A reference to the Ottawa River, which was by early travelers and writers often regarded as a principal fork, rather than a tributary, of the St. Lawrence.—Ed.

arriv'd at Fort *Catarokouy*, or *Frontenac*, about Eleven a Clock at Night, the next Day after *All-Saints;* where our Recollet-Fathers, *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, and *Luke Buiſſet*, Miſſionaries, receiv'd me with all Expreſſions of Joy into our Houſe of Miſſion, which we had caus'd to be built the Year before, upon the brink of the Lake *Ontario*, near to Fort *Frontenac.* This Fort lies about forty four Degrees and ſome Minutes of Northern Latitude.

I had forgot to acquaint you, that this Lake *Ontario* is form'd by the River St. *Laurence*, and that it is deep enough for large Veſſels; for at ſeventy Fathom we could diſcern no Ground. The Waves there are toſs'd by mighty Winds which are very frequent; and their Surges are full as high as thoſe of the Sea, but much more dangerous; for they are ſhorter and ſteeper; ſo that a Veſſel riding along cannot yield and keep touch with 'em. There are likewiſe ſome very plain appearances of a Flux and Reflux; for they obſerve the Water to flow and ebb [36] by little Tides, and that it flows oft-times againſt the Wind when very high.

The Fiſhing of this Lake, as of all the other Lakes before-mention'd, is very conſiderable for all manner of excellent Fiſhes, eſpecially for Salmon-Trouts, which are there much bigger than our biggeſt Salmons. The adjacent Country is very fertile, as is confirm'd by the Experience of thoſe who cultivated it in ſeveral places. There is excellent Game there for all ſorts of Wild Beaſts and Wild Fowl: Their Foreſts are repleniſh'd with the prettieſt Trees in the

World, Pines, Cedars, and *Epinetes*,[1] (a ſort of Firr-tree very common in that Country.) They have likewiſe very good Iron-Mines; and no doubt but other Metals might be found if ſought after.

While I abode at *Catarokouy*, waiting the coming up of the reſt of our Company, I had time to confer with the Reverend Fathers of our Order, concerning what Meaſures we were to take for converting unto Chriſt Jeſus, ſuch a numerous Train of Nations that had never heard of the Goſpel; for it is certain, that ſuch poor helpleſs Prieſts as we of the *Franciſcan* Order, deſtitute of all temporal Enjoyments, and cut off from all Humane Means and Aſſiſtance, cannot be too cautious in managing the Concerns of ſo important a Miſſion, becauſe of the infinite variety of the Tempers of thoſe that were to accompany us in this Voyage; for we had in company ſome *Flemings*, ſome *Italians*, and ſome *Normans*, who were all of different Intereſts; and it was a very difficult Task for us to comply with, and pleaſe ſo many different Humours; eſpecially when engag'd in ſuch a Voyage as this, in which Laws could not be obſerv'd with the ſame Exactneſs, or retain the ſame Rigour as in *Europe*, where Men may be entic'd to Good, and ſcar'd from Evil, by the Love of Rewards or fear of Puniſhment. But I reſign'd my ſelf wholly to the Exerciſe of [37] my Duty, leaving the Conduct of all

[1] The popular name of the hemlock spruce (*Abies Canadensis*); its leaves and bark were often used as medicine by the early colonists, and the Indians used the bark to cover their cabins.— Ed.

unto God's Providence, and being ready to encounter whatever Accidents might fall in my way.

The *Iroqueſe* whom we had brought to ſettle near this Fort (as was above related) came oft-times to viſit us, and made us Preſents of the Fleſh of Elks, and Roe-bucks; in lieu of which we gave 'em little Knives and ſome Tobacco, which we had for that purpoſe. Theſe Savages, when they reflected upon our deſigned Voyage, us'd to clap their Four Fingers on their Mouths (as they generally do when touch'd with the Admiration of any thing they cannot comprehend) and cry'd aloud, *Otchitagon, Gannoron!* that is, *Bare-Feet, what ye are about to undertake, is of great Importance:* And added, that their moſt valiant Adventurers had much ado to extricate themſelves out of the hands of thoſe barbarous Nations we were going to viſit. It is certain, that the *Iroqueſe* had a moſt tender Reſpect for the *Franciſcan* Monks, having obſerv'd them to live all in common, without reſerving any particular Poſſeſſions.

The Food of the *Iroqueſe* is in common among 'em. The ancienteſt Women in the Houſe diſtribute about to the other Perſons in the Family according to their Seniority. When they ſit at their Meals, they give freely to eat unto all that come into their Houſes; for they would rather chuſe to faſt for a whole Day, than ſuffer any one to go from their Houſes, without offering them a ſhare of whatever they had.

The Sieur *de la Salle* arriv'd at the Fort ſome time after me: God preſerv'd him (as he did me) from the infinite Dangers he was expos'd to in this great Voyage betwixt

Quebec and the Fort, having paſs'd the great fall of Water mention'd laſt, and ſeveral other moſt rapid Currents in his way thither. The ſame Year he ſent off Fifteen of our Boatmen, who [38] were to go before us. They made as if they had been going in their Canou towards the *Illinois*, and the other Neighbouring Nations that border upon the River, call'd by the *Illinois*, *Meſchaſipi;* that is, *a great River;* which Name it has in the Map. All this was only to ſecure to us a good Correſpondence with the Savages, and to prepare for us in that Country ſome Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, to further this Diſcovery. But there being among them ſome villainous Fellows, they ſtopp'd in the upper Lake at *Miſſilimakinak*, and diverted themſelves with the Savages that live to the Northward of that Lake, laviſhing and ſquandering away the beſt of the Commodities they had taken with 'em, inſtead of providing ſuch Things as were needful for building a Ship, which we greatly wanted in order to paſs from Lake to Lake to the River *Meſchaſipi.*[1]

[1] A reference to La Salle's first Western expedition (1678–80); Hennepin accompanied him as chaplain. For detailed accounts of La Salle's explorations, see Parkman's *La Salle*, Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi*, and Gabriel Gravier's *Cavalier de la Salle* (Paris, 1870).— Ed.

CHAP. XIV.

A Deſcription of my ſecond Imbarkment at Fort Frontenack, *in a Brigantine upon the Lake* Ontario *or* Frontenac.

THAT very ſame Year, on the Eighteenth of *November*, I took leave of our Monks at Fort *Frontenac*, and after mutual Embraces and Expreſſions of Brotherly and Chriſtian Charity, I embark'd in a Brigantine of about ten Tuns. The Winds and the Cold of the Autumn were then very violent, inſomuch that our Crew was afraid to go into ſo little a Veſſel. This oblig'd us and the Sieur *de la Motte* our Commander,[1] to keep our courſe on the North-ſide of the Lake, to ſhelter our ſelves under the Coaſt, againſt the North-weſt Wind, which otherwiſe wou'd have forc'd us upon the Southern Coaſt of the Lake. This Voyage prov'd very difficult [39] and dangerous, becauſe of the unſeaſonable time of the Year, Winter being near at hand.

On the 26*th*, we were in great danger about Two large Leagues off the Land, where we were oblig'd to lie at an

[1] Pierre de St. Paul, sieur de la Motte-Lussière, a French military officer, was in Canada from 1665 to 1670, and perhaps longer. La Salle, meeting him in Paris in 1678, made La Motte an associate in his Western schemes, and placed him in charge of Fort Frontenac; it was he also who built for La Salle the blockhouse at Niagara. Their association did not apparently last long; in 1683 La Motte obtained a seigniory in Canada, where he spent the rest of his life; he was slain by Iroquois raiders, on Sept. 22, 1690.— Ed.

Anchor all that Night at ſixty Fathom Water and above; but at length the Wind coming to the North-Eaſt, we ſail'd on, and arriv'd ſafely at the further end of the Lake *Ontario*, call'd by the *Iroqueſe*, *Skannadario*. We came pretty near to one of their Villages call'd *Tajajagon*, lying about Seventy Leagues from Fort *Frontenac*, or *Catarokouy*.

We barter'd ſome *Indian* Corn with the *Iroqueſe*, who could not ſufficiently admire us, and came frequently to ſee us on board our Brigantine, which for our greater ſecurity, we had brought to an Anchor into a River,[1] though before we could get in, we run a ground three times, which oblig'd us to put Fourteen Men into Canou's, and caſt the Balaſt of our Ship over-board to get her off again. That River falls into the Lake; but for fear of being frozen up therein, we were forc'd to cut the Ice with Axes and other Inſtruments.

The Wind turning then contrary, we were oblig'd to tarry there till the 15*th* of *December*, 1678, when we ſail'd from the Northern Coaſt to the Southern, where the River *Niagara* runs into the Lake; but could not reach it that Day, though it is but Fifteen or Sixteen Leagues diſtant, and therefore caſt Anchor within Five Leagues of the Shore, where we had very bad Weather all the Night long.

On the 6th, being St. *Nicholas*'s Day, we got into the fine River *Niagara*, into which never any ſuch Ship as ours enter'd before. We ſung there *Te Deum*, and other Prayers, to return our Thanks to God Almighty for our proſperous Voyage. The *Iroqueſe Tſonnontouans* inhabiting the little Village,

[1] Probably the Humber River, at the mouth of which Toronto is situated.— Ed.

ſituated at the mouth of the River, took above Three Hundred Whitings, which are bigger than Carps, and the [40] beſt reliſh'd, as well as the wholeſomeſt Fiſh in the World; which they preſented all to us, imputing their good Luck to our Arrival. They were much ſurprized at our Ship, which they call'd the *great woodden Canou*.

On the *7th*, we went in a Canou two Leagues up the River, to look for a convenient Place for Building; but not being able to get the Canou farther up, becauſe the Current was too rapid for us to maſter, we went over land about three Leagues higher, though we found no Land fit for culture. We lay that Night near a River, which runs from the Weſtward,[1] within a League above the great Fall of *Niagara*, which, as we have already ſaid, is the greateſt in the World. The Snow was then a Foot deep, and we were oblig'd to dig it up to make room for our Fire.

The next day we return'd the ſame way we went, and ſaw great Numbers of Wild Goats, and Wild Turkey-Cocks, and on the *11th*, we ſaid the firſt Maſs that ever was ſaid in that Country. The Carpenters and the reſt of the Crew were ſet to work; but Monſieur *de la Motte*, who had the Direction of them, being not able to endure the Fatigues of ſo laborious a Life, gave over his Deſign, and return'd to *Canada*, having about two hundred Leagues to travel.

The *12th*, *13th*, and *14th*, the Wind was not favourable enough to ſail up the River as far as the rapid Current above mention'd, where we had reſolv'd to build ſome Houſes.

[1] This is supposed to be Chippewa Creek.— Ed.

Whoſoever conſiders our Map, will eaſily ſee, that this New Enterprize of building a Fort and ſome Houſes on the River *Niagara*, beſides the Fort of *Frontenac*, was like to give Jealouſie to the *Iroqueſe*, and even to the *Engliſh*, who live in this Neighbourhood, and have a great Commerce with them. Therefore to prevent the ill Conſequences of it, it [41] was thought fit to ſend an Embaſſie to the *Iroqueſe*, as it will be mention'd in the next Chapter.

The 15*th*, I was deſir'd to ſit at the Helm of our Brigantine, while three of our Men hall'd the ſame from the Shore with a Rope; and at laſt we brought her up, and moor'd her to the Shore with a Halſer, near a Rock of a prodigious heighth, lying upon the rapid Currents we have already mention'd. The 17th, 18th, and 19th, we were buſie in making a Cabin with Paliſadoes, to ſerve for a Magazine; but the Ground was ſo frozen, that we were forced to throw ſeveral times boiling water upon it to facilitate the beating in and driving down the Stakes. The 20th, 21ſt, 22d, and 23d, our Ship was in great danger to be daſh'd in pieces, by the vaſt pieces of Ice that were hurl'd down the River; to prevent which, our Carpenters made a Capſtane to haul her aſhore; but our great Cable broke in three pieces; whereupon one of our Carpenters ſurrounded the Veſſel with a Cable, and ty'd to it ſeveral Ropes, whereby we got her aſhore, tho' with much difficulty, and ſav'd her from the danger of being broke to pieces, or carried away by the Ice, which came down with an extream violence from the great Fall of *Niagara*.

CHAP. XV.

An Account of the Embaſſie to the Iroqueſe Tſonnontouans.

THESE Savages being the moſt numerous Nation of that Country, it was requiſite to avoid giving them any manner of ſuſpicion; and in order thereto, we thought fit to prepoſſeſs thoſe of the little Village of *Niagara* with a favourable opinion of our Deſign: We told them, that we did not intend to build a Fort on the Bank of their River *Niagara*, [42] but only a great *Hanger* or Store-houſe, to keep the Commodities we had brought to ſupply their Occaſions. We accompany'd our Diſcourſe with ſome ſmall Preſents, and told them that we ſhould remain with them, while Six or Seven of our Company went to the great Village of the *Tſonnontouans*, to treat with their chief Captains. And truly it was abſolutely neceſſary to go thither, to remove the Suſpicion the Enemies of our Diſcovery had ſuggeſted to that People concerning our Deſigns.

As I was building a little Cabin of Bark, to perform Divine Service therein, M. *de la Motte*, who was ſtill with us, deſir'd me to accompany him in his Embaſſie, which I was very unwilling to comply with; and therefore intreated him to ſuffer me to ſtay there with the greater number of our Men. But notwithſtanding the Arguments I us'd, he told me

that he was reſolv'd to take along with him 7 Men out of 16, that we were in all; that I underſtood in a manner the Language of their Nation, having been often in conference with them at the Fort of *Frontenac;* that the Glory of God was concern'd in this Undertaking; that he would not truſt thoſe that were to accompany him; and in ſhort, that if our Enterprize ſhould miſcarry upon that account, the Blame would lie at my door. Theſe with ſome other ſecret Reaſons, oblig'd me to comply with his Deſire, and to follow him.

We travell'd with Shooes made after the *Indian* way, of a ſingle Skin, but without Soles, becauſe the Earth was ſtill cover'd with Snow, and paſt through Foreſts for thirty two Leagues together, carrying upon our Backs our Coverings and other Baggage, lying often in open Field, and having with us no other Food but ſome roaſted *Indian* Corn: 'Tis true, we met upon our Road ſome *Iroqueſe* a hunting, who gave us ſome wild Goats, and fifteen or ſixteen black Squirrils, which are excellent [43] Meat. However, after five Days Journey, we came to *Tagarondies*, a great Village of the *Iroqueſe Tſonnontouans*,[1] and were immediately carry'd to the Cabin of their Principal Chief, where Women and Children flock'd to ſee us, our Men being very well dreſt and arm'd. An old Man having according to Cuſtom made publick Cries, to give Notice of our arrival to their Village; the younger Savages waſh'd our Feet, which afterwards they rubb'd over with

[1] Apparently the village located on Boughton Hill, near Victor, N. Y.; it is mentioned by the Jesuit missionaries as Gandagaro. See W. M. Beauchamp's map (with notes) of Iroquois village sites, in *Jes. Relations*, li, p. 293.—Ed.

the Greaſe of Deers, wild Goats, and other Beaſts, and the Oil of Bears.

The next Day, which was the Firſt of the Year 1679, after the ordinary Service, I preach'd in a little Chapel made of Barks of Trees, in preſence of two Jeſuites, *viz.* Father *Garnier* and *Rafeix*[1]; and afterwards we had a Conference with 42 old Men, who make up their Council. Theſe Savages are for the moſt part tall, and very well ſhap'd, cover'd with a ſort of Robe made of Beavers and Wolves-Skins, or of black Squirrels, holding a Pipe or *Calumet* in their Hands. The Senators of *Venice* do not appear with a graver Countenance, and perhaps don't ſpeak with more Majeſty and Solidity, than thoſe ancient *Iroqueſe.*

This Nation is the moſt cruel and barbarous of all *America*, eſpecially to their Slaves, whom they take above two or three hundred Leagues from their Country, as I ſhall ſhew in my Second Volume; however, I muſt do them the Juſtice to obſerve, that they have many good Qualities; and that they love the *Europeans*, to whom they ſell their Commodities at very reaſonable Rates. They have a mortal Hatred for thoſe, who being too ſelf-intereſted and covetous, are always endeavouring to inrich themſelves to the Prejudice of others. Their chief Commodities are Beavers-Skins, which they bring from above a hundred and fifty Leagues off their Habitations, to exchange them with the *Engliſh* and [44] *Dutch*, whom they

[1] Julien Garnier and Pierre Raffeix, long missionaries among the Iroquois tribes — the former from 1668 to 1685, the latter from 1671 to 1680.— Ed.

affect more than the Inhabitants of *Canada*, becauſe they are more affable, and ſell them their Commodities cheaper.

One of our own Men, nam'd *Anthony Broſſard*, who underſtood very well the Language of the *Iroqueſe*, and therefore was Interpreter to M. *de la Motte*, told their Aſſembly,

Firſt, That we were come to pay them a Viſit, and ſmoak with them in their Pipes, a Ceremony which I ſhall deſcribe anon: And then we deliver'd our Preſents, conſiſting of Axes, Knives, a great Collar of white and blue Porcelain,[1] with ſome Gowns. We made Preſents upon every Point we propos'd to them, of the ſame nature as the former.

Secondly, We deſir'd them, in the next place to give Notice to the five Cantons of their Nation, that we were about to build a Ship, or great woodden Canow above the great Fall of the River *Niagara*, to go and fetch *European* Commodities by a more convenient paſſage than the ordinary one, by the *River* St. *Laurence*, whoſe rapid Currents make it dangerous and long; and that by theſe means we ſhould afford them our Commodities cheaper than the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* of *Boſton* and *New-York*. This Pretence was ſpecious enough, and very well contriv'd to engage that barbarous Nation to extirpate

[1] The term commonly used by the French for the beads which served the Indians as both money and adornment; the same as the "wampum" of English writers. Originally cut from shells by crude and slow methods, these beads were largely replaced, when the savages began to trade with white men, by others of glass, porcelain, etc., manufactured in Europe. They were strung together on cords or threads; or were woven into bands one to four inches wide, which were called "belts" or "collars." For description, use, and history of wampum, or porcelain, see *Jes. Relations*, viii, pp. 312–314; xii, 277; xlvi, 301.—Ed.

the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* out of *America:* For they ſuffer the *Europeans* among them only for the Fear they have of them, or elſe for the Profit they make in Bartering their Commodities with them.

Thirdly, We told them farther, that we ſhould provide them at the River *Niagara* with a Black-ſmith and a Gun-ſmith, to mend their Guns, Axes, *&c.* having no body among them that underſtood that Trade, and that for the conveniency of their whole Nation, we would ſettle thoſe Workmen on the Lake of *Ontario*, at the Mouth of the River *Niagara.* [45] We threw again among them ſeven or eight Gowns, and ſome Pieces of fine Cloth, which they cover themſelves with from the Waſt to the Knees. This was in order to engage them on our ſide, and prevent their giving ear to any who might ſuggeſt ill things of us, entreating them firſt to acquaint us with the Reports that ſhould be made unto them to our Prejudice, before they yielded their Belief to the ſame.

We added many other Reaſons which we thought proper to perſuade them to favour our Deſign. The Preſents we made unto them, either in Cloth or Iron, were worth above 400 Livres,[1] beſides ſome other *European* Commodities, very ſcarce in that Country: For the beſt Reaſons in the World are not liſtned to among them, unleſs they are enforc'd with Preſents.

I forgot to obſerve, that before our Interpreter began to

[1] A French money of account, in value nearly equal to the modern franc (or about twenty cents U. S. money). The livre of Tours was worth 20 sous, that of Paris 25 sous.— ED.

talk of theſe matters with the Council, M. *de la Motte* order'd him to tell the *Iroqueſe*, That he would enter into no Particulars in preſence of Father *Garnier* a Jeſuite, whom he much ſuſpected: Whereupon the old Senators order'd the ſaid Father to withdraw. As I had a great Reſpect for him, I went out likewiſe to bear part of the Affront put upon him, and to let M. *la Motte* ſee that he had no reaſon to deſire me to go to the Council with him, ſince he had reſolv'd to affront in my preſence a Jeſuite-Miſſionary, who was amongſt that barbarous Nation, without any other Deſign but to inſtruct them in the Truth of the Goſpel. This was the reaſon why I was not preſent in the Council the firſt Day that we acquainted the *Iroqueſe* with the ſubject of our Embaſſie. I eaſily obſerv'd that M. *la Motte* had been bred up amongſt People profeſs'd Enemies of all Monks and Prieſts; from whence I concluded, that he would lay upon me all the Overſights he might commit in his Negotiation: But I [46] thought it was better he ſhould be deceiv'd by thoſe he employ'd, than to be ſo my ſelf; and therefore would never meddle with any Temporal Concerns, though earneſtly deſir'd by him and others. The *Iroqueſe*, and other wild Nations, had a great Love for me upon that Account: They have ſupply'd me with Food for my ſubſiſtance, and reliev'd me upon other Occaſions, only becauſe they obſerv'd I was not guided by a private ſelf-Intereſt; and truly whenever they made me any Preſents in return of thoſe I had made unto them, I immediately gave them to their Children.

The next Day the *Iroqueſe* anſwer'd our Diſcourſe and

Preſents Article by Article, having laid upon the Ground ſeveral little pieces of Wood, to put them in mind of what had been ſaid the Day before in the Council; their Speaker, or Preſident, held in his Hand one of theſe Pieces of Wood, and when he had anſwer'd one Article of our Propoſal, he laid it down, with ſome Preſents of black and white Porcelain, which they uſe to ſtring upon the ſmalleſt Sinews of Beaſts; and then took up another Piece of Wood; and ſo of all the reſt, till he had fully anſwer'd our Speech, of which thoſe Pieces of Wood, and our Preſents put them in mind. When his Diſcourſe was ended, the oldeſt Man of their Aſſembly cry'd aloud for three times, *Niaoua;* that is to ſay, *It is well, I thank thee;* which was repeated with a full Voice, and in a tuneful manner by all the other Senators.

'Tis to be obſerv'd here, that the Savages, though ſome are more cunning than others, are generally all addicted to their own Intereſts; and therefore though the *Iroqueſe* ſeem'd to be pleas'd with our Propoſals, they were not really ſo; for the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* affording them the *European* Commodities at cheaper Rates than the *French* of *Canada*, they had a greater Inclination for them than for us. That People, tho' [47] ſo barbarous and rude in their Manners, have however a Piece of Civility peculiar to themſelves; for a Man would be accounted very impertinent, if he contradicted any thing that is ſaid in their Council, and if he does not approve even the greateſt Abſurdities therein propos'd; and therefore they always anſwer, *Niaoua;* that is to ſay, *Thou art in the right, Brother; that is well.*

Notwithſtanding that ſeeming Approbation, they believe what they pleaſe and no more; and therefore 'tis impoſſible to know when they are really perſuaded of thoſe things you have mention'd unto them, which I take to be one of the greateſt Obſtructions to their Converſion; For their Civility hindring them from making any Objection, or contradicting what is ſaid unto them, they ſeem to approve of it, though perhaps they laugh at it in private, or elſe never beſtow a Moment to reflect upon it, ſuch being their Indifference for a future Life. From theſe Obſervations, I conclude that the Converſion of that People is to be deſpair'd of, 'till they are ſubdu'd by the *Europeans*, and that their Children have another ſort of Education, unleſs God be pleas'd to work a Miracle in their Favour.

While we were ſtill with the *Iroqueſe*, their Parties made an Excurſion toward *Virginia*, and brought two Priſoners with them, one whereof was *Houtouagaha*,[1] which in the Language of the *Iroqueſe*, ſignifies a talkative or babling Fellow, and the other of the Nation of *Gannieſſinga*,[2] whither ſome *Engliſh Franciſcans* were ſent Miſſionaries. The *Iroqueſe* ſpar'd the Life of this laſt, but put to death the former, with ſuch

[1] Probably a misprint for Ontouagannha, the name given by the Iroquois to the Algonquian tribe generally known as Shawnese. The term is defined by Jesuit missionary writers as indicating a people who use a barbarous dialect, or who are ignorant and rude. The Shawnese, a migratory people, wandered, at various times, from the Tennessee River to the mountainous region of Pennsylvania, and westward into Ohio (where they probably were in Hennepin's time). See *Jes. Relations*, xlvii, pp. 145, 316; lxi, p. 249.—Ed.

[2] Perhaps a reference to the Gannaouens, or Kanawhas, the same as the Piscatoways; a tribe in Maryland, friendly to the English; they lived on the upper Potomac River.—Ed.

exquiſite Torments, that *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Maximilian*, never invented the like, to exerciſe the Patience of the Martyrs of the Primitive Church with all.

They uſe commonly that Inhumanity towards all the Priſoners they take in their Warlike Expeditions; but the worſt of it is, that their Torments laſt [48] ſometimes a Month. When they have brought them into their *Canton*, they lay them upon ſome pieces of Wood, made like a St. *Andrew*'s Croſs, to which they tie the Legs and Arms of thoſe miſerable Wretches, and expoſe them to Gnats and other Flies, who ſting them to death. The Children of thoſe barbarous Parents, cut pieces of Fleſh out of their Flanks, Thighs, or ſome other part of their Bodies; and when they have boyl'd it, force thoſe poor Wretches to eat thereof. The *Iroqueſe* eat ſome pieces of it themſelves, as well as their Children; and the better to inſpire thoſe little Canibals with Hatred for their Enemies, and the deſire to extirpate them, they give them their Blood to drink in ſome little Porrengers made of Barks of Trees. Thus do theſe poor Creatures end their Life after a long and unſpeakable Torment.

That horrid Cruelty oblig'd us to leave the Cabin, or Cotage of the chief Captain of that barbarous People, to ſhew them the Horrour we had of their Inhumanity, and never eat with them ſince, but return'd the ſame way we went through the Woods to the River *Niagara*. And this was all the ſucceſs of our Ambaſſie.

CHAP. XVI.

A Deſcription of a Ship of Sixty Tuns, which we built near the Streights of the Lake Erie, *during the Winter and Spring of the Year* 1679.

ON the 14th of *January* we arrived at our Habitation of *Niagara*, very weary of the Fatigues of our Voyage. We had no other Food but *Indian* Corn; but by good luck for us, the Fiſhery of the Whitings, I have already ſpoken of, was then in ſeaſon, and made our *Indian* Corn more reliſhing. We [49] made uſe of the Water, in which the Fiſh was boiled, inſtead of Broth of Meat; for when it grows cold in the Pot, it congeals it ſelf like ſome Veal-Broth.

On the 20th arrived M. *de la Salle* from Fort *Frontenac*, from whence he was ſent with a great Barque to ſupply us with Proviſions, Rigging, and Tackling for the Ship we deſign'd to build at the Mouth of the Lake *Erie;* but that Barque was unfortunately caſt away on the Southern Coaſt of the Lake *Ontario*, by the fault of two Pilots, who could not agree about the Courſe they were to ſteer, tho' they were then only within two Leagues of *Niagara*. The Sea-men have call'd this Place the *Mad-Cape*. The Anchors and Cables were ſav'd, but ſeveral Canows made of Barks of Trees with Goods and Commodities were loſt. Theſe diſappointments

were ſuch as would have diſſwaded from any farther Enterprize all other Perſons but ſuch who had form'd the generous Deſign of making a New Diſcovery in the Country.

M. *de la Salle* told us, that before he loſt his Barque, he had been with the *Iroqueſe Tſonnontouans*, and had ſo dexterouſly gain'd their Affection, that they had talk'd to him of our Embaſſie with Applauſe, and had given him their Conſent for the Execution of our Undertaking. This good Intelligence laſted but a little while; for certain Perſons, who made it their Buſineſs to croſs our Deſign, inſpir'd the *Iroqueſe* with many Suſpicions about the Fort we were building at *Niagara*, which was in a great forwardneſs; and their Suſpicions grew ſo high, that we were oblig'd to give over our Building for ſome time, contenting our ſelves with an Habitation encompaſs'd with Paliſado's.

On the 22th of the ſaid Month, we went two Leagues above the great Fall of *Niagara*, where we made a Dock for Building the Ship we wanted for our Voyage. This was the moſt convenient place [50] we could pitch upon, being upon a River which falls into the Streight between the Lake *Erie* and the great Fall of *Niagara*.[1] The 26th, the Keel of the Ship and ſome other Pieces being ready, M. *de la Salle* ſent the Maſter-Carpenter to deſire me to drive in the firſt Pin; but my Profeſſion obliging me to decline that Honour, he did it himſelf,

[1] The location of this place, where was built the first sailing-vessel on the Upper Lakes, is identified by Parkman (*La Salle*, p. 132, *note*) as the mouth of Cayuga Creek, N. Y. See O. H. Marshall's "Building and Voyage of the Griffon in 1679," in *Publications* of Buffalo Historical Society, i (Buffalo, 1879); and C. K. Remington's *Shipyard of the Griffon* (Buffalo, 1891).— Ed.

and promis'd Ten *Louis d'Or's*, to encourage the Carpenter and further the Work. The Winter being not half ſo hard in that Country as in *Canada*, we employ'd one of the two Savages of the Nation call'd the *Wolf*, whom we kept for Hunting, in building ſome Cabins made of Rinds of Trees; and I had one made on purpoſe to perform Divine Service therein on *Sundays*, and other occaſions.

M. *de la Salle* having ſome urgent Buſineſs of his own, return'd to Fort *Frontenac*, leaving for our Commander one *Tonti*, an *Italian* by Birth, who had been forc'd to retire into *France* after the Revolution of *Naples*, in which his Father was concern'd.[1] I conducted M. *de la Salle* as far as the Lake *Ontario*, at the Mouth of the River *Niagara*, where he order'd a Houſe to be built for the Smith we had promis'd to the *Iroqueſe;* but this was only to amuze them, and therefore I cannot but own that the Savages are not to be blam'd for having not believ'd every thing they were told by M. *la Motte* in his Embaſſie already related.

He undertook his Journey a-foot over the Snow, having no other Proviſions but a little Sack of *Indian* Corn roaſted, which fail'd him two Days before he came to the Fort, which is above fourſcore Leagues diſtant from the Place where he left us. However, he got home ſafely with two Men, and a Dog, who dragg'd his Baggage over the Ice, or frozen Snow.

When I return'd to our Dock, I underſtood that moſt

[1] Henri de Tonty was La Salle's lieutenant and trusted friend, amid all the difficulties, dangers, and losses in which the explorer was involved. It was Tonty who built Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River, where he remained until 1700; he then joined Iberville on the Mississippi. In 1704 he died at Mobile, of yellow fever.—Ed.

of the *Iroqueſe* were gone to wage War with a Nation on the other ſide of the Lake *Erie*. In the [51] mean time, our Men continu'd with great Application to build our Ship; for the *Iroqueſe* who were left behind, being but a ſmall number, were not ſo inſolent as before, though they came now and then to our Dock, and expreſs'd ſome Diſcontent at what we were doing. One of them in particular, feigning himſelf drunk, attempted to kill our Smith, but was vigorouſly repuls'd by him with a red-hot Iron-barr, which, together with the Reprimand he receiv'd from me, oblig'd him to be gone. Some few Days after, a Savage Woman gave us notice, that the *Tſonnontouans* had reſolv'd to burn our Ship in the Dock, and had certainly done it, had we not been always upon our Guard.

Theſe frequent Alarms from the Natives, together with the Fears we were in of wanting Proviſions, having loſt the great Barque from Fort *Frontenac*, which ſhould have reliev'd us, and the *Tſonnontouans* at the ſame time refuſing to give us of their Corn for Money, were a great Diſcouragement to our Carpenters, whom, on the other hand, a Villain amongſt us endeavour'd to ſeduce: That pitiful Fellow had ſeveral times attempted to run away from us into *New-York*, and would have been likely to pervert our Carpenters, had I not confirm'd them in their good Reſolution, by the Exhortations I us'd to make every Holy-day after Divine Service; in which I repreſented to them, that the Glory of God was concern'd in our Undertaking, beſides the Good and Advantage of our Chriſtian Colonies; and therefore exhorted them to redouble

their Diligence, in order to free our ſelves from all thoſe Inconveniencies and Apprehenſions we then lay under.

The two Savages we had taken into our Service, went all this while a Hunting, and ſupply'd us with Wild-Goats, and other Beaſts for our Subſiſtence; which encourag'd our Workmen to go on with their Work more briskly than before, inſomuch that in a [52] ſhort time our Ship was in a readineſs to be launch'd; which we did, after having bleſs'd the ſame according to the uſe of the *Romiſh* Church. We made all the haſte we could to get it a-float, though not altogether finiſh'd, to prevent the Deſigns of the Natives, who had reſolv'd to burn it.

The Ship was call'd the *Griffin*, alluding to the Arms of Count *Frontenac*, which have two *Griffins* for *Supporters;* and beſides, M. *la Salle* us'd to ſay of this Ship, while yet upon the Stocks, That he would make the *Griffin* fly above the *Ravens*.[1] We fir'd three Guns, and ſung *Te Deum*, which was attended with loud Acclamations of Joy; of which thoſe of the *Iroqueſe*, who were accidentally preſent at this Ceremony, were alſo Partakers; for we gave them ſome Brandy to drink, as well as to our Men, who immediately quitted their Cabins of Rinds of Trees, and hang'd their Hammocks under the Deck of the Ship, there to lie with more ſecurity than a-ſhoar. We did the like, inſomuch that the very ſame Day we were all on board, and thereby out of the reach of the Inſults of the Savages.

The *Iroqueſe* being return'd from Hunting Beavers, were mightily ſurpriz'd to ſee our Ship a-float, and call'd us *Otkon*,

[1] In sarcastic allusion to the black gowns of the Jesuits.— Ed.

that is in their Language, *Moſt penetrating Wits:* For they could not apprehend how in ſo ſhort a time we had been able to build ſo great a Ship, though it was but 60 Tuns.[1] It might have been indeed call'd a moving Fortreſs; for all the Savages inhabiting the Banks of thoſe Lakes and Rivers I have mention'd, for five hundred Leagues together, were fill'd with Fear as well as Admiration when they ſaw it.

The beſt Deſigns are often croſs'd by ſome unexpected Accidents, which God permits to happen, to try Mens Conſtancy, as I experienc'd at that time. One of our Crew gave me notice, that the Sieur *de Tonti* our Commander entertain'd ſome Jealouſie of [53] me, becauſe I kept a Journal of all the conſiderable Things that were tranſacted; and that he deſign'd to take the ſame from me. This Advice oblig'd me to ſtand upon my Guard, and take all other Precautions, to ſecure my Obſervations, and remove the Jealouſie that Gentleman had of me: For I had no other Deſign but to keep our Men to their Duty, and to Exerciſes of Piety and Devotion, for preventing Diſorders, and for the furtherance of our Common Undertaking.

In the mean time, our Enemies ſpread very diſadvantageous Reports of us in *Canada*, where we were repreſented as raſh and inconſiderate Perſons, for venturing upon ſo dangerous a Voyage, from which, in their Opinion, none of us would ever return. This, together with the Difficulties we labour'd under for tranſporting the Rigging of our Ship,

[1] In his *Louisiane* (ed. 1683, p. 46), Hennepin says that it was of forty-five tons.— ED.

and the other Inconveniencies neceſſarily attending a Voyage through an unknown Country, Lakes, and Rivers, where no *European* had travell'd before, and the Oppoſitions from the *Iroqueſe*, wrought in me an unparallel'd Vexation. But theſe Reports were ſtill more prejudicial to M. *la Salle*, whoſe Creditors, without enquiring into the Truth of the Matter, or expecting his Return from Fort *Frontenac*, ſeiz'd all his Effects in *Canada;* though that very Fort alone, the Property whereof belong'd to him, was worth twice more than all the Debts he ow'd. However, it being impoſſible to ſtop the Mouth of our Enemies, who had no other Deſign, but to oblige us to give over our Enterprize, notwithſtanding the Trouble and great Charge we had been at for our Preparations, we reſolv'd to wait with Patience, the Opportunities Divine Providence would preſent us with, and to purſue with Vigour and Conſtancy our Deſign.

Being thus prepar'd againſt all Diſcouragements, I went up in a Canou with one of our Savages to the [54] Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, notwithſtanding the ſtrong Current which I maſter'd with great difficulty. I ſounded the Mouth of the Lake, and found, contrary to the Relations that had been made unto me, that a Ship with a brisk Gale might ſail up to the Lake, and ſurmount the Rapidity of the Current; and that therefore with a ſtrong North, or North-Eaſt Wind, we might bring our Ship into the Lake *Erie*. I took alſo a view of the Banks of the Streight, and found that in caſe of need we might put ſome of our Men a-ſhoar to hall the Ship, if the Wind was not ſtrong enough.

CHAP. XVII.

The Author's Return to Fort Frontenac.

BEFORE we could go on with our intended Diſcovery, I was oblig'd to return to Fort *Frontenac*, to bring along with me two Monks of my own Order, to help me in the Function of my Miniſtry. I left our Ship riding upon two Anchors, within a league and a half of the Lake *Erie*, in the Streight, between the ſaid Lake and the great Fall of *Niagara*. Mr. *Charon*, an Inhabitant of *Canada*, deſir'd to go with me, to avoid the ill Uſage he receiv'd from M. *Tonti*, who was an irreconcileable Enemy of all the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, having been, as he thought, hardly us'd by the *Spaniards*, in the Revolution of *Naples*, in which he was concern'd as well as his Father.

We embark'd in a Canou with one of our Savages, and fell down the Streight till we came to the great Fall, where we went a-ſhoar, and carry'd our Canou over-land to the Foot of the great Rock already mention'd, and from thence we continu'd our Courſe to the Mouth of the Lake *Ontario*, where [55] we found the Barque or Brigantine we have ſpoken of, which the Sieur *la Foreſt*[1] had brought from Fort

[1] La Forest was a lieutenant under La Salle, who left him in charge of Fort Frontenac; La Forest remained there until 1685, when he joined Tonty in Illinois. Five years later, these two obtained a grant of Fort St. Louis, and a limited trading-permit—

Frontenac. M. *la Foreſt* having ſpent ſome Days in that place for Bartering his Commodities with the Natives, we embark'd on board his Brigantine, together with fifteen or ſixteen Savage Women, who took the opportunity to ſail forty Leagues by Water, which otherwiſe they had been oblig'd to travel a-foot over-land through the Woods; but they not being us'd to this way of Travelling, fell ſo ſick, that their vomiting created an inſufferable Stink in our Ship. Being arriv'd into the River of *Aoueguen*,[1] M. *la Foreſt* exchang'd ſome Brandy for Beaver-Skins; but I muſt confeſs this Commerce of Strong-Waters was never acceptable to me; for if the Savages drink but a little too much of that Liquor, they are worſe and more dangerous than mad Men. Having done our Buſineſs in that Place, we ſail'd from the Southern to the Northern Coaſts of the Lake; and the Wind being favourable we quickly paſs'd by the Village which lies on the other ſide of *Kente* and *Ganeouſſe*, but were becalm'd not far from Fort *Frontenac*, which oblig'd me to get into a Canou with two Savages to manage it. We landed in the Iſland of *Goilans*,[2] ſo nam'd from Sea-Fouls of that Name, who abound in that Place, and lay their Eggs upon the Sand, where they are hatch'd by the Heat of the Sun. I carry'd away along with us four Baskets full of them, which we found very reliſhing in Omelets and Pancakes.

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favors which were afterward revoked, La Forest being ordered back to Canada. He was commandant at Detroit from 1710 until his death in 1714.— Ed.

[1] More often written Chouaguen; the Oswego River.— Ed.

[2] Gull Island, according to Shea (in his translation of Hennepin's *Louisiane*, p. 88, *note* †).— Ed.

I was kindly receiv'd by four Miſſionaries of my own Order that I found there, *viz.* Father *Gabriel de la Ribourde*, *Luke Buiſſet*, *Zenobe Mambre*, and *Milithon Watteau*, all Natives of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. They told me that they knew how much I had ſuffer'd in my *Miſſion* during the Winter, and chiefly from that *Italian* who deſerted the Service of his Natural Prince, that is *Tonti* I have already ſpoken of. I [56] conceal'd part of the Diſcouragements I had met with, becauſe I deſign'd to engage Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe* in our Voyage, and alſo becauſe I knew that M. *de la Salle*, whoſe Temper I was acquainted with by my own Experience, made a conſtant uſe of this famous Maxim, *Divide & impera*, to diſpoſe with a greater facility of the Men under him to compaſs his own Deſigns: And having as great a Paſſion as he to diſcover ſome New Countries, I thought it beſt to make no Complaints, which he took very kindly, and receiv'd me in a very obliging manner.

That Gentleman was Judicious, and of extraordinary Parts, and very deſirous to make himſelf famous by ſome New Diſcoveries, about which we had frequent Conferences. He told me ſeveral times, That he knew no Religious Order ſo fit as ours for improving New Colonies; and he was a very good Judge in thoſe Matters, having ſpent nine or ten Years in another Order, of which he had diſingag'd himſelf by Conſent of the General,[1] who in the Act of his Diſmiſſion under his own Hand, gives this noble Character of him, That he

[1] La Salle was a pupil of the Jesuits in Rouen, until his fifteenth year; and became a novice in that order at Paris, Oct. 5, 1658. Two years later, he took the three vows

had liv'd amongſt the Monks of his Order, without giving the leaſt ſuſpicion of *Venial Sin.* Theſe are the very Words of the Act, for I have perus'd it my ſelf. He likewiſe told me, That being perſuaded that we might be very uſeful to him in his Deſigns, he was reſolv'd to do ſomething in favour of our Order; and having call'd us together on the 27*th* of *May*, 1679, he acquainted us, That being Proprietary and Governor of Fort *Frontenac*, he would order in his Will, That no other religious Order but ours, ſhould be ſuffer'd to ſettle themſelves near the Fort; he afterwards mark'd out a Church-yard; and having created a publick Notary, he order'd him to draw up an Inſtrument, whereby the ſaid M. *la Salle* gave to our Order the Property of Eighteen Acres of Ground [57] along the ſide of the Lake *Ontario* near the Fort, and above a Hundred Acres more in the next Foreſt to be clear'd and grubb'd up. We accepted this Gift in the Name of our Order, and ſign'd the Deed, which was the firſt that ever was tranſacted in that Country. The Notary's Name was *la Meterie.*

This being done, he deſir'd thoſe *Franciſcans* that were to come with me, to prepare themſelves for their Voyage; but the Wind being againſt us, we had a ſufficient time for it, and to take our Meaſures concerning our dangerous Miſſion. We made frequent Viſits to the Savages, whom we had perſuaded to ſettle themſelves near the Fort, who, together with

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of a Jesuit, assumed the name of Ignatius, and was known in the order as Frère Robert Ignace. . . . On March 28, 1667, he left the order, and departed from the college at La Flèche; he did not go to Canada until 1668.—*Jes. Relations*, lx, pp. 319-320.

their Children, whom we had taught to read and write, lamented much our Departure; and aſſur'd us, That if we did return in a ſhort time, they would perſuade the reſt of the Inhabitants of the Village of *Ganeouſſe*, to come and ſettle themſelves in the Neighbourhood of the Fort.

CHAP. XVIII.

An Account of our Second Embarkment from Fort Frontenac.

AFTER ſome few Days, the Wind coming fair, Fathers *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, went on board the Brigantine, and in a ſhort time arriv'd in the River of the *Tſonnontouans*,[1] which runs into the Lake *Ontario*, where we continu'd ſeveral Days, our Men being very buſie in bartering their Commodities with the Natives, who flock'd in great numbers about us to ſee our Brigantine, which they admir'd, and to exchange their Skins for Knives, Guns, Powder and Shot, but eſpecially for Brandy, which they love above all things. In the mean time, we had built a ſmall Cabin of Barks of Trees about [58] half a League in the Woods, to perform Divine Service therein without interruption, and waited till all our Men had done their Buſineſs. M. *la Salle* arriv'd in a Canou about eight Days after; he had taken his courſe by the Southern Coaſt of the Lake, to go to the Village of the *Tſonnontouans*, to whom he made ſeveral Preſents to engage them in our Intereſt, and remove the Jealouſie they had conceiv'd of our Undertaking, through the Suggeſtions of our Enemies. All

[1] Irondequoit Creek, which flows into Irondequoit Bay, a little east of the Genesee River.— Ed.

theſe Impediments retarded us ſo long, that we could not reach the River *Niagara* before the 30th of *July*.

On the 4th of the ſaid Month, I went over-land to the Fall of *Niagara*, with a Serjeant call'd *la Fleur*, and thence to our Dock within ſix Leagues of the Lake *Ontario;* but we did not find there the Ship we had built: And met with a new Misforturne; for two young Savages robb'd us of the Bisket we had for our ſubſiſtance, which reduc'd us to great Extremity. We found at laſt a half rotten Canou without Oars, which we mended as well as we could; and having made an Oar, we ventur'd our ſelves in that weak and ſhatter'd Canou, and went up the Streight to look for our Ship, which we found riding within a league of the pleaſant Lake *Erie*. We were very kindly receiv'd, and likewiſe very glad to find our Ship well rigg'd, and ready fitted out with all the Neceſſaries for ſailing. She carry'd five ſmall Guns, two whereof were Braſs, and three Harquebuze *a-crock*.[1] The Beak-head was adorn'd with a flying Griffin, and an Eagle above it; and the reſt of the Ship had the ſame Ornaments as Men of War uſe to have.

The *Iroqueſe* were then returning from a Warlike Expedition with ſeveral Slaves, and were much ſurpriz'd to ſee ſo big a Ship, which they compar'd to a Fort, beyond their Limits. Several came on board, and ſeem'd to admire above all things the bigneſs of [59] our Anchors; for they could not apprehend how we had been able to bring them through the

[1] Fr. *à croc;* that is, with a prop or support.— Ed.

rapid Currents of the River St. *Laurence.* This oblig'd them to uſe often the Word *Gannorom*, which in their Language ſignifies, That is wonderful. They wonder'd alſo to find there a Ship, having ſeen none when they went; and did not know from whence it came, it being about 250 Leagues from *Canada.*

Having forbid the Pilot to attempt to ſail up the Currents of the Streight till farther order, we return'd the 16th and 17th to the Lake *Ontario*, and brought up our Bark to the great Rock of *Niagara*, and anchor'd at the foot of the three Mountains,[1] where we were oblig'd to make our *Portage;* that is, to carry over-land our Canou's and Proviſions, and other Things, above the great Fall of the River, which interrupts the Navigation: And becauſe moſt of the Rivers of that Country are interrupted with great Rocks, and that therefore thoſe who ſail upon the ſame, are oblig'd to go over-land above thoſe Falls, and carry upon their Backs their Canou's and other Things. They expreſs it with this Word, To make our *Portage;* of which the Reader is deſir'd to take notice, for otherwiſe the following Account, as well as the Map, would be unintilligible to many.

Father *Gabriel*, though of Sixty five Years of Age, bore with great Vigour the Fatigue of that Voyage, and went thrice up and down thoſe three Mountains, which are pretty high and ſteep. Our Men had a great deal of trouble; for

[1] This term refers to the three grades of the acclivity opposite the "great rock" (p. 31, *note* 2, ante), which stands at the foot of the rapids above Lewiston, Ont. The triple ascent on the east shore formed the portage, or carrying-place, of travelers around the Falls. See Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 132, *note*.— Ed.

they were oblig'd to make ſeveral Turns to carry the Proviſions and Ammunition, and the Portage was two Leagues long. Our Anchors were ſo big, that four Men had much ado to carry one; but the Brandy we gave them was ſuch an Encouragement, that they ſurmounted cheerfully all the Difficulties of that Journey; and ſo we got on board our [60] Ship all our Proviſions, Ammunitions, and Commodities.

While we continu'd there, M. *la Salle* told me, That he underſtood by ſome of our Men, that I very much blam'd the Intrigues of ſome Monks of *Canada* with the *Iroqueſe*, and their Neighbours of *New-York* and *New-Orange;* which oblig'd me in his preſence, to tell my Brethren the *Franciſcans*, That I perceiv'd that M. *la Salle* was minded to ſurprize me, and oblige me to revile ſome Perſons, whom he repreſented as Traders and Merchants; and then abating ſomewhat of my Tone, I concluded, That notwithſtanding the falſe Reports that had been made to him, I would entertain a good Opinion of thoſe very Perſons whom he deſign'd to make my Enemies; and that I wou'd rather give over our Enterprize than be impos'd upon at that rate. This vigourous Anſwer ſurpriz'd M. *la Salle*, who told me, That he was perſuaded that thoſe who had made him thoſe Reports, were not honeſt Men; and that therefore he would take all imaginable care of my Perſon during the Voyage, and eſpouſe my Intereſt on all occaſions. He was indeed afraid that I ſhould leave him, which had been a great diſappointment to his Affairs; for Father *Gabriel* would have left him alſo. That good Man was come with us without any leave of his Superi-

our, only upon a Letter from the Provincial Commiſſioner of *Canada*, whoſe Name was *Valentin le Roux*, wherein he told M. *la Salle*, that the ſaid Father *Gabriel* might go along with him. However, he did not believe that he would do ſo without an Order in Writing; and for that reaſon came, ſome Days after our departure, to Fort *Frontenac*, where M. *la Salle* obtain'd that Order from him, for fear of being accus'd to have expos'd a Man of that Age to ſo dangerous a Voyage, in which he was like to periſh, as really he did, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

[61] M. *la Salle* underſtanding that I and the ſaid Father *Gabriel*, were gone to view the great Fall of *Niagara*, he came to us with ſome Refreſhments to reconcile himſelf with me, and prevent my return to *Canada*. He met with no great difficulty; for the great deſire I had to diſcover a New Country, made me very eaſie; ſo that we return'd on board our Ship in the beginning of *Auguſt*, 1679.

CHAP. XIX.

An Account of our Third Embarkment from the Mouth of the Lake Erie.

WE have already obſerv'd, that the *Spaniards* were the firſt Diſcoverers of *Canada*, and that the *Recollects* are the firſt Religious Order, who attended the *French* Colonies in that Country. Thoſe Good Men liv'd in great Friendſhip with the Savages call'd *Hurons*, by whom they underſtood that the *Iroqueſe* made frequent Excurſions beyond *Virginia* and *New-Sweden*, near a great Lake, from whence they brought a great many Slaves; which gave occaſion to the *Hurons* to call that Lake *Erige*, or *Erike;* that is to ſay, the Lake of the *Cat.* The Inhabitants of *Canada* have ſoftned that Word, and call it *Erie*, as we have already obſerv'd.

We endeavour'd ſeveral times to ſail up that Lake; but the Wind being not ſtrong enough, we were forc'd to wait for it. In the mean time, M. *la Salle* caus'd our Men to grub up ſome Land, and ſow ſeveral ſorts of Pot-Herbs and Pulſe, for the conveniency of thoſe who ſhould ſettle themſelves there, to maintain our Correſpondence with Fort *Frontenac.* We found there a great quantity of wild Cherries and *Rocambol*, a ſort of Garlick, which grow naturally in that Ground. We left Father *Melithon*, with [62] ſome Work-men,

at our Habitation above the Fall of *Niagara;* and moſt of our Men went a-ſhoar to lighten our Ships, the better to ſail up the Lake.

The Wind veering to the North-Eaſt, and the Ship being well provided, we made all the Sail we could, and with the help of Twelve Men who hall'd from the Shoar, overcame the Rapidity of the Current, and got up into the Lake. The Stream is ſo violent, that our Pilot himſelf deſpair'd of Succeſs. When it was done, we ſung *Te Deum*, and diſcharg'd our Cannon and other Fire-Arms, in preſence of a great many *Iroqueſe*, who came from a Warlike Expedition againſt the Savages of *Tintonha;* that is to ſay, the *Nation of the Meadows*,[1] who live above four hundred Leagues from that Place. The *Iroqueſe* and their Priſoners were much ſurpriz'd to ſee us in the Lake, and did not think before that, we ſhould be able to overcome the Rapidity of the Current: They cry'd ſeveral times *Gannorom*, to ſhew their Admiration. Some of the *Iroqueſe* had taken the meaſure of our Ship, and immediately went for *New-York*, to give notice to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* of our ſailing into the Lake: For thoſe Nations affording their Commodities cheaper than the *French*, are alſo more belov'd by the Natives.

On the 7th of *Auguſt*, 1679, we went on board, being in all four and thirty Men, including two *Recollects* who came to

[1] The Teton or Ti′-to^{n}-wa^{n} ("Prairie dwellers"), a Siouan tribe, a branch of the Dakota confederacy. Early Siouan traditions indicate that the Teton took possession of the Black Hills region long before white men came among them; at present, they are located on reservations in both North and South Dakota. See W. J. McGee's "Siouan Indians," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1893–94, pp. 160, 190.—Ed.

us, and ſail'd from the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, ſteering our Courſe Weſt-South-Weſt, with a favourable Wind; and though the Enemies of our Diſcovery had given out, on purpoſe to deterr us from our Enterprize, That the Lake *Erie* was full of Rocks and Sands, which render'd the Navigation impracticable, we run above twenty Leagues during the Night, though we ſounded all that while. The next Day the Wind being more favourable, we made above five and forty Leagues, keeping at an equal diſtance from the Banks of the Lake, and doubled a [63] Cape to the Weſt-ward, which we call'd the Cape of *St. Francis.* The next Day we doubled two other Capes,[1] and met with no manner of Rocks or Sands. We diſcover'd a pretty large Iſland towards the South-Weſt, about ſeven or eight Leagues from the Northern Coaſt; that Iſland faces the Streight that comes from the Lake *Huron.*

The 10th, very early in the Morning, we paſs'd between that Iſland and 7 or 8 leſſer ones; and having ſail'd near another, which is nothing but Sand, to the Weſt of the Lake, we came to an Anchor at the Mouth of the Streight, which runs from the Lake *Huron* into that of *Erie.* The 11th, we went farther into the Streight, and paſs'd between two ſmall Iſlands, which make one of the fineſt Proſpects in the World. This Streight is finer than that of *Niagara*, being thirty Leagues long, and every-where one League broad, except in the middle, which is wider, forming the Lake we have call'd *St. Claire.* The Navigation is eaſie on both ſides, the Coaſt

[1] Hennepin's "Cape St. Francis" was probably the "Long Point" of to-day; and the other two, the projections now known as Pointe aux Pins and Pointe Pelée.— Ed.

being low and even. It runs directly from North to South.

The Country between those two Lakes is very well situated, and the Soil very fertile. The Banks of the Streight are vaſt Meadows, and the Proſpect is terminated with ſome Hills covered with Vineyards, Trees bearing good Fruit, Groves, and Foreſts, ſo well diſpos'd, that one would think Nature alone could not have made, without the Help of Art, ſo charming a Proſpect. That Country is ſtock'd with Stags, Wild-Goats,[1] and Bears, which are good for Food, and not fierce as in other Countries; ſome think they are better than our Pork. Turkey-Cocks and Swans are there alſo very common; and our Men brought ſeveral other Beaſts and Birds, whoſe Names are unknown to us, but they are extraordinary reliſhing.

[64] The Foreſts are chiefly made up of Walnut-trees, Cheſnut-trees, Plum-trees, and Pear-trees, loaded with their own Fruit and Vines. There is alſo abundance of Timber fit for Building; ſo that thoſe whoſe who ſhall be ſo happy as to inhabit that Noble Country, cannot but remember with Gratitude thoſe who have diſcover'd the way, by venturing to ſail upon an unknown Lake for above one hundred Leagues. That charming Streight lies between 40 and 41 Degrees of Northern Latitude.

[1] Probably small deer.— Ed.

CHAP. XX.

An Account of what hapned in our Paſſage from the Lake Erie, *unto the Lake* Huron.

I HAD often advis'd M. *la Salle* to make a Settlement upon the Streight, between the Lake *Erie* and *Ontario*, where the Fiſhery is more plentiful; for that Settlement would have been very advantageous to us, to maintain our Communication with Fort *Frontenac*. I told him alſo, that it were fit to leave in that Settlement the Smith he and M. *la Motte* had promis'd to the *Iroqueſe;* and that it would be a means to engage that wild Nation in our Intereſt, and to trade only with us, whereby he would grow rich in a little time: But M. *la Salle*, and the Adventurers who were with him, would not hearken to my Advice; and told me, that they would make no Settlement within 100 Leagues of their Fort, leſt other *Europeans* ſhould get before them into the Country they were going to diſcover. This was their Pretence; but I ſoon obſerv'd that their Intention was to buy all the Furrs and Skins of the remoteſt Savages, who, as they thought, did not know their Value; and ſo inrich themſelves in one ſingle Voyage.

[65] I endeavour'd alſo to perſwade him to make a Settlement upon this charming Streight; for being in the midſt of

ſo many Nations of Savages, we could not but have a good Trade amongſt them. This was the Argument I made uſe of; but the main Reaſon, which I kept to my ſelf, was to have an Opportunity to preach the Goſpel to thoſe ignorant Nations. M. *la Salle* would by no means hearken to my Advice, and told me he wonder'd at my Propoſal, conſidering the great Paſſion I had a few Months before for the Diſcovery of a New Country.

The Current of that Streight is very violent, but not half ſo much as that of *Niagara;* and therefore we ſail'd up with a brisk Gale, and got into the Streight between the Lake *Huron*, and the Lake *St. Claire;* this laſt is very ſhallow, eſpecially at its Mouth. The Lake *Huron* falls into this of *St. Claire* by ſeveral Canals, which are commonly interrupted by Sands and Rocks. We ſounded all of them, and found one at laſt about one League broad without any Sands, its Depth being every where from three to eight Fathoms Water. We ſail'd up that Canal, but were forc'd to drop our Anchors near the Mouth of the Lake; for the extraordinary quantity of Waters which came down from the upper Lake, and that of *Illinois*, becauſe of a ſtrong North-Weſt Wind, had ſo much augmented the Rapidity of the Current of this Streight, that it was as violent as that of *Niagara.*

The Wind turning Southerly, we ſail'd again; and with the help of twelve Men, who hall'd our Ship from the Shoar, got ſafely the 23th of *Auguſt* into the Lake *Huron.* We ſung *Te Deum* a ſecond time, to return our Thanks to the Almighty for our happy Navigation. We found in that Lake

a large Bay, the Banks of which the ancient *Hurons* inhabited.[1] They were converted to the Chriſtian Religion [66] by the firſt *Franciſcans* that came into *Canada*[2]; but the *Iroqueſe* have in a great meaſure deſtroy'd that Nation.

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[1] Georgian Bay, which is separated from Lake Huron by the Manitoulin and other islands.— ED.

[2] The Récollet missionaries began a mission to the Hurons in 1623; but their feeble resources, and the vastness of the field, led them to call upon the Jesuits for aid. The latter order made prompt response, and sent thither missionaries in 1626; but all the missionaries were by the English conquerors deported to France in 1629, and it was the Jesuits alone who later evangelized all the Huron tribes. Their work is ignored by Hennepin.— ED.

CHAP. XXI.

An Account of our Navigation on the Lake Huron *to* Miſſili-makinak.

HAVING thus travell'd above 300 Leagues from *Quebec* to the Lake *Huron*, notwithſtanding the rapid Currents and Lakes we went through, we continu'd our Voyage from the Mouth of this Lake, ſteering our Courſe North-North-Eaſt; but the next day, finding our ſelves near the Land, we ſteer'd North-North-Weſt, and croſs'd a Bay call'd *Sakinam*,[1] which may be thirty Leagues broad. The 24th, we run the ſame Courſe, but were becalm'd between ſome Iſlands, where we found but two Fathoms Water, which oblig'd us to make an eaſie ſail part of the Night, to look for a good Anchorage, but in vain; and the Wind turning then Weſterly, we bore to the North, to avoid the Coaſt till the Day appear'd. We ſounded all the Night long, becauſe our Pilot, though a very underſtanding Man, was ſomewhat negligent. The 25th, we lay becalm'd till Noon, but then run North-Weſt with a brisk Southerly Gale. The Wind turning South-Weſt, we bore to the North to double a Cape; but then the Wind grew ſo violent, that we were forc'd to lie by all the Night. The 26th, the Storm continuing, we brought down our Main

[1] Saginaw, the large bay on the western side of Lake Huron.— Ed.

Yards and Top-Maſt, and let the Ship drive at the Mercy of the Wind, knowing no place to run into to ſhelter our ſelves. M. *la Salle*, notwithſtanding he was a Courageous Man, began to fear, and told us we were undone; and therefore every body fell upon his Knees to ſay his Prayers, [67] and prepare himſelf for Death, except our Pilot, whom we could never oblige to pray; and he did nothing all that while but curſe and ſwear againſt M. *la Salle*, who, as he ſaid, had brought him thither to make him periſh in a naſty Lake, and loſe the Glory he had acquir'd by his long and happy Navigations on the Ocean. However, the Wind being ſomewhat abated, we hoiſted up our Sail, and ſo we drove not above two Leagues. The 27th, in the Morning, we continu'd our Courſe North-Weſt with a South-Eaſt Wind, which carry'd us the ſame Day to *Miſſilimakinak*, where we anchor'd in a Bay at ſix Fathoms Water, upon a ſlimy white Bottom. That Bay is ſhelter'd by the Coaſt, and a Bank lying from the South-Weſt to the North; but it lies expos'd to the South Winds, which are very violent in that Country.

Miſſilimakinak is a Neck of Land to the North of the Mouth of the Streight, through which the Lake of the *Illinois* diſcharges it ſelf into the Lake *Huron*.[1] That Canal is about three Leagues long, and one broad. About fifteen Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Miſſilimakinak*, there is another Point at the Mouth of the Streight, whereby the upper Lake

[1] Reference is evidently made here, not to the island, but to that projection of the north shore which lies between East Moran and West Moran Bays, and terminates in Pointe la Barbe. At the western end of East Moran Bay is the present village of St. Ignace; here must have been their anchorage.— ED.

runs into that of *Huron;* which Streight is about five Leagues broad at its Mouth, and about fifteen Leagues long; but it grows narrow towards the Fall of *St. Mary*, which is a rapid Stream interrupted by ſeveral Rocks. However a Canow may go up by one ſide, but it requires a great Fatigue; and therefore the ſafeſt and eaſieſt way is to make a Portage above the Fall, to go and trade with the Savages inhabiting the Banks of the upper Lake.

We lay between two different Nations of Savages; thoſe who inhabit the Point of *Miſſilimakinak* are called *Hurons*, and the others, who are about three or four Leagues more Northward, are *Outtaouatz*.[1] Thoſe Savages were equally ſurpriz'd to ſee [68] a Ship in their Country; and the Noiſe of our Cannon, of which we made a general Diſcharge, fill'd them with great aſtoniſhment. We went to ſee the *Outtaouatz*, and celebrated Maſs in their Habitation. M. *la Salle* was finely dreſs'd, having a Scarlet Cloak with a broad Gold Lace, and moſt of his Men with their Arms attended him. The Chief Captains of that People receiv'd us with great Civilities after their own way, and ſome of them came on board with us to ſee our Ship, which rode all that while in the Bay or Creek I have ſpoken of. It was a diverting Proſpect to ſee every

[1] A name (with many variants), anglicized as Ottawas, originally signifying "forest dwellers," referring to a sedentary Algonquian tribe whom Champlain found (1615) at the southern end of Georgian Bay. During the seventeenth century they gradually migrated, retreating before the Iroquois, to the mainland north of Georgian Bay, by way of the Manitoulin Islands. Many Hurons, after the dispersion of their nation (1649–50) took refuge among the Ottawas. Various bands of Ottawas still reside in Michigan and Ontario, especially on Manitoulin Island. Full accounts of this people and their early history are given in *Jes. Relations* (see Index, *art.* Ottawas).—Ed.

Day above ſixſcore Canou's about it, and the Savages ſtaring and admiring that fine Woodden Canou, as they call'd it. They brought us abundance of Whitings, and ſome Trouts of 50 and 60 pound Weight.

We went the next Day to pay a Viſit to the *Hurons*, who inhabit a riſing Ground on a Neck of Land over-againſt *Miſſilimakinak*. Their Villages are fortifi'd with Palliſado's of 25 foot high, and always ſituated upon Eminences or Hills. They receiv'd us with more Reſpect than the *Outtaouatz*, for they made a triple Diſcharge of all the ſmall Guns they had, having learn'd from ſome *Europeans*, that it is the greateſt Civility amongſt us. However, they took ſuch a Jealouſie to our Ship, that, as we underſtood ſince, they endeavour'd to make our Expedition odious to all the Nations about them.

The *Hurons* and *Outtaouatz* are in Confederacy together againſt the *Iroqueſe* their Common Enemy. They ſow *Indian* Corn, which is their ordinary Food; for they have nothing elſe to live upon, except ſome Fiſh they take in the Lakes. They boil it with their *Sagamittee*, which is a kind of Broth made with Water and the Flour of the Corn, which they beat in a Mortar, made of the Trunk of a Tree, which they make hollow with Fire.

[69] There is another Settlement of Savages near the Fall of *St. Mary*. The *French* call them *Leapers*, becauſe they live near that great Fall which they call a *Leap*.[1] Theſe ſubſiſt

[1] A poor translation of *sault*, a "fall of water," and *Sauteurs*, "dwellers at the Sault," the French appellation of the Ojibwas (more commonly known as Chippewas).— Ed.

together by Hunting Staggs, Elks, Beavers, and other Beaſts, as alſo upon the Whitings we have already ſpoken of; who are taken with ſo much difficulty in this Place, that none but themſelves are able to catch any. They ſow no *Indian* Corn, becauſe of the thick Fogs that are commonly on the Banks of the upper Lake, which ſtifle Corn before it grows.

Miſſilimakinak and the Fall of St. *Mary*, are the two moſt conſiderable Paſſages that all the Savages have of the Weſt and North; for there are above two hundred Canou's that come through theſe Paſſes every Year, to carry their Commodities to the *French* at *Montreal* below Fort *Frontenac.*

Our Enterprize had been very ſucceſsful hitherto; and we had reaſon to expect, that every body would have contributed to carry on vigorouſly our great Deſign to promote the Glory of God, as well as the Good of our Colonies: However, ſome of our own Men oppos'd it as much as they could; they repreſented us to the *Outtoauats* and their Neighbours as dangerous and ambitious Adventurers, who deſign'd to engroſs all the Trade of Furrs and Skins, and invade their Liberty, the only thing which is dear to that People. The fifteen Men that M. *la Salle* had ſent before him, had been ſeduc'd and almoſt drawn from his Service. The Goods which he had given them to exchange with the Natives, were diſſipated and waſted; and inſtead of advancing as far as the *Illinois*, as they were order'd, they remain'd amongſt the *Hurons*, notwithſtanding the Exhortations and the Prayers of M. *Tonti* who Commanded them.

Our Men went into the Country to trade with the Natives, and engag'd themſelves too far; ſo that they did not return to *Miſſilimakinak* till *November:* [70] M. *la Salle* being told that the Winds made the Navigation of the Lake very dangerous in the beginning of the Winter, reſolv'd to continue his Voyage without tarrying any longer for the return of his Men.

CHAP. XXII.

An Account of our Sailing from Miſſilimakinak, *into the Lake of the* Illinois.

ON the 2d of *September* we weigh'd Anchor, and ſail'd into the Lake of the *Illinois;* and came to an Iſland juſt at the Mouth of the Bay of the *Puans*, lying about forty Leagues from *Miſſilimakinak:* It is inhabited by ſome Savages of the Nation call'd *Poutouatami's*,[1] with whom ſome of the Men M. *la Salle* had ſent the Year before, had barter'd a great quantity of Furrs and Skins. We found our Men in the Iſland, who began to be very impatient, having ſo long waited our arrival.

The chief of that Nation had been formerly in *Canada*, and had an extraordinary Reſpect for Count *Frontenac*, who was Governour thereof; and upon that account receiv'd us with all the civility imaginable, and caus'd his Men to dance the *Calumet*, or Pipe, before us. This is a piece of Civility we ſhall deſcribe anon. Our Ship was riding in the Bay about thirty Paces from the furthermoſt Point of the Land, at a pretty good Anchorage, where we rode ſafely, notwithſtanding a violent Storm which laſted four Days. And upon

[1] Formerly named, on this account, Isle des Pouteouatamis ("Pottawattomie Island"); now Washington Island.— ED.

this occaſion, I cannot omit, without Injuſtice, the Generosity of that Brave Captain, who ſeeing our Ship toſs'd up by the Waves, and not knowing it was able to reſiſt, ventur'd himſelf in his little Canou, and came to our aſſiſtance. He had the good Luck to get ſafe on board, and [71] told us he would at all times venture his Life, for ſaving the Children of *Onnontio*, Governour of *Canada*, who was his particular Friend. It muſt be obſerv'd, that that Governour is call'd *Onnontio*[1] by all the Savages.

M. *la Salle*, without asking any body's Advice, reſolv'd to ſend back his Ship to *Niagara*, laden with Furrs and Skins to diſcharge his Debts; our Pilot and five Men with him were therefore ſent back, and order'd to return with all imaginable ſpeed, to join us toward the Southern Parts of the Lake, where we ſhould ſtay for them among the *Illinois*. They ſailed the 18th of *September* with a Weſterly Wind, and fir'd a Gun to take their leave. Tho' the Wind was favourable, it was never known what Courſe they ſteer'd, nor how they periſh'd; for after all the Enquiries we have been able to make, we could never learn any thing elſe but the following Particulars.

The Ship came to an Anchor to the North of the Lake of the *Illinois*, where ſhe was ſeen by ſome Savages, who told us that they adviſed our Men to ſail along the Coaſt, and

[1] An Iroquois appellation, literally translating the name of Montmagny ("great Mountain"), first governor of Montreal. This name was afterward given, by the Hurons and Iroquois, to all governors of Canada and New York, and even to the monarchs of France and England. It was finally adopted also by the Algonquian tribes east of the Mississippi.— Ed.

not towards the middle of the Lake, becauſe of the Sands that make the Navigation dangerous when there is any high Wind. Our Pilot, as I ſaid before, was diſſatisfy'd, and would ſteer as he pleas'd, without hearkning to the Advice of the Savages, who, generally ſpeaking, have more Senſe than the *Europeans* think at firſt; but the Ship was hardly a League from the Coaſt, when it was toſs'd up by a violent Storm in ſuch a manner, that our Men were never heard of ſince; and it is ſuppos'd that the Ship ſtruck upon a Sand, and was there bury'd. This was a great loſs for M. *la Salle* and other Adventurers; for that Ship, with its Cargo, coſt above ſixty thouſand Livres. This will ſeem incredible to many, but not to thoſe who will conſider that the Rigging, Anchors, and Goods were [72] brought by Canou's from *Quebec* to Fort *Frontenac;* which is ſuch a vaſt Charge, that the Carriage of every hundred Weight, either of Anchors, Cabels, and the like, coſt eleven Livres.

CHAP. XXIII.

An Account of our Embarkment in Canows to continue our Diſcovery, from the Bay of Puans, *to the* Miamis *on the Lake of the* Illinois.

WE left the *Poutouatamis* on the 19th of *September* to continue our Voyage, being fourteen Men in all, in four Canou's. I had the Conduct of the ſmalleſt, though it carry'd 500 Weight and two Men; but my Fellow being newly come from *Europe*, and conſequently unskill'd to manage theſe ſort of Boats, I had the whole trouble upon me in any ſtormy Weather. The other four Canou's were laden with a Smith's Forge, and Inſtruments, and Tools for Carpenters, Joyners, and Sawers, beſides our Goods and Arms.

We ſteer'd to the South towards the Continent, from which the Iſland of the *Poutouatamis* is near forty Leagues diſtant; but about the middle of the way, in the Night-time, we were ſurpriz'd with a ſudden Storm, whereby we were in great danger. The Waves came into our Canou's; and the Night was ſo dark, that we had much ado to keep Company together: However, we got a-ſhoar the next Day, where we continu'd till the Lake grew calm again, which was four Days after. In the mean time our Savage went a Hunting, but could kill nothing but a *Porcupine*, which made our Gourds and *Indian* Corn more reliſhing.

[73] The Weather being fair, we continu'd our Voyage the 25th, and row'd all the Day, and beſt part of the Night, all along the Weſtern Coaſt of the Lake of the *Illinois;* but the Wind growing too high for us, we thought fit to land upon a Rock, where we had nothing to ſhelter our ſelves againſt the Snow and the Rain but our Blankets. We continu'd there two Days, having made a little Fire with the Wood the Waves did ſupply us with. The 28th we proceeded on our Voyage; but the Wind forc'd us towards Night on a Rock cover'd with thick Buſhes, where we remain'd three Days, and there made an end of all our Proviſions, which conſiſted of Gourds and *Indian* Corn we had brought from the *Poutouatami's.* Our Canou's were ſo loaded, that we could not provide our ſelves for a longer time, and we expected to find proviſions enough in our way.

We left that diſmal Place the 1*ſt* of *October*, and after twelve Leagues rowing, though faſting, came to another Village of the *Poutouatami's*, who came upon the Shoar to receive us: But M. *la Salle* would not ſuffer any one to land, leſt his Men ſhould run away; and notwithſtanding the bad Weather, we follow'd him three Leagues farther. We were in ſo great danger, that he flung himſelf into the Water with his three Men, and carry'd a-ſhoar their Canou upon their Shoulders, for elſe it had been broken to pieces. We were all oblig'd to do the ſame; and by theſe means ſav'd our Canou's and Goods. I carry'd upon my Back that good Man Father *Gabriel*, whoſe great Age did not permit him to venture himſelf into the Water.

As we had no manner of Acquaintance with the Savages of the Village near which we landed, our Men prepar'd themſelves to make a vigorous Defence in caſe they were attack'd; and in order to it, poſſeſſed our ſelves of a riſing Ground, where we could not [74] be ſurpriz'd, and where we might make head againſt a great number of Savages. We ſent afterwards three Men to buy Proviſions in the Village with the *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace, which the *Poutouatami's* of the Iſland had given us. I had forgot to mention that when they made us that Preſent, they obſerv'd a great many Ceremonies; and becauſe that *Calumet* of Peace is the moſt ſacred Thing amongſt the Savages, I think fit to deſcribe the ſame in the next Chapter.

CHAP. XXIV.

A Deſcription of the Calumet, *or Great Pipe.*

THIS *Calumet* is the moſt myſterious Thing in the World among the Savages of the Continent of the Northern *America;* for it is us'd in all their important Tranſactions: However, it is nothing elſe but a large Tobacco-Pipe made of Red, Black, or White Marble: The Head is finely poliſh'd, and the *Quill*, which is commonly two Foot and a half long; is made of a pretty ſtrong Reed, or Cane, adorn'd with Feathers of all Colours, interlac'd with Locks of Womens Hair. They tie to it two Wings of the moſt curious Birds they find, which makes their *Calumet* not much unlike *Mercury*'s Wand, or that Staff Ambaſſadors did formerly carry when they went to treat of Peace. They ſheath that Reed into the Neck of Birds they call *Huars*,[1] which are as big as our Geeſe, and ſpotted with Black and White; or elſe of a ſort of Ducks who make their Neſts upon Trees, though Water be their ordinary Element, and whoſe Feathers are of many different Colours. However, every Nation adorns the *Calumet* as they think fit according to their own Genius and the Birds they have in their Country.

[75] A Pipe, ſuch as I have deſcrib'd it, is a Paſs and ſafe

[1] This word means "loons," according to Shea (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 113, *note* †).—Ed.

Conduct amongſt all the Allies of the Nation who has given it; and in all Embaſſies, the Ambaſſadors carry that *Calumet* as the Symbol of Peace, which is always reſpected; for the Savages are generally perſuaded, that a great Misfortune would befal 'em, if they violated the Publick Faith of the *Calumet.* All their Enterprizes, Delarations of War, or Concluſion of Peace, as well as all the reſt of their Ceremonies, are ſealed, if I may be permitted to ſay ſo, with this *Calumet.* They fill that Pipe with the beſt Tobacco they have, and then preſent it to thoſe with whom they have concluded any great Affair, and ſmoak out of the ſame after them.[1] I had certainly periſh'd in my Voyage, had it not been for this *Calumet* or Pipe, as the Reader will obſerve in peruſing the following Account.

Our three Men, provided with this Pipe as a Paſs, and very well Arm'd, went to the little Village of the Savages, which was about three Leagues from the place where we landed; but they found no body therein; for the Savages having heard that we had refus'd to land at the other Village, thought we were Enemies, and therefore had left their Habitation. Our Men finding no body in their Cabins, took ſome *Indian* Corn, and left in ſtead of it ſome Goods, to let them ſee that we were no Robbers, nor their Enemies. However, the Savages, to the number of twenty Men, arm'd with Axes, ſmall Guns, Bows, and a ſort of Club, which in their

[1] Regarding the use and importance of the calumet, or peace-pipe, see *Jes. Relations*, xii, p. 277; xxvi, 157, 161; xxviii, 295, 299; lviii, 97–99; lix, 115–119, 131; lxii, 267; lxv, 123–125, 267; lxviii, 159–161, 195, 203. See also Perrot's *Mémoire* (Tailhan's ed.), pp. 99, 100.— Ed.

Language they call *Break-heads*,[1] advanc'd near the Place where we ſtood; whereupon M. *la Salle*, with four Men very well arm'd, went toward them to ſpeak with them, and deſir'd them to come near us, for fear, as he ſaid, a Party of our Men, who were gone a Hunting, ſhould meet with them and kill them. They were perſuaded to ſit down at the foot of the Eminence where we were poſted, and M. *la* [76] *Salle* ſpoke to them all the while of the ſubject matter of his Voyage, which he had undertaken for their good and advantage, as he told them. This was only to amuſe them till our three Men return'd; who appearing with the *Calumet* of Peace, the Savages made a great Shout, and roſe, and began to dance. We made them ſome Excuſe becauſe of our Men having taken ſome of their Corn, and told them they had left the true Value of it in Goods; which they took ſo well, that they ſent immediately for more, and gave us the next Day as much as we could conveniently carry in our Canou's. They retir'd towards the Evening; and M. *la Salle* order'd ſome Trees to be cut down, and laid croſs the way, to prevent any Surprize from the Savages.

The next Morning about ten a Clock, the Oldeſt of them came to us with their *Calumet* of Peace, and entertain'd us with ſome wild Goats they had taken. We return'd them our Thanks, and preſented them with ſome Axes, Knives, and ſeveral little Toys for their Wives, with which they were very much pleas'd.

[1] Fr. *casse-tête*, war-club; thus described by the missionary Sebastian Rale (*Jes. Relations*, lxvii, pp. 171, 173): "The war-club is made of a deer's horn or of wood, shaped like a cutlass, with a large ball at the end."— Ed.

CHAP. XXV.

A Continuation of our Diſcovery; with an Account of our Navigation to the farther End of the Lake of the Illinois *in our Canous.*

WE left that Place the 2d of *October*, and continu'd our Voyage all along the Coaſt of the Lake, which is ſo ſteep that we could hardly find any Place to land; and the Violence of the Wind oblig'd us to drag our Canou's ſometimes to the top of the Rocks, to prevent their being daſh'd in pieces by the Waves. The ſtormy Weather [77] laſted four Days, during which we ſuffer'd very much; for every time we went a-ſhoar we were forc'd to ſtep into the Water, and carry our Canou's upon our Shoulders, and to do the like when we embark'd again. The Water being very cold, moſt of us were ſick, and our Proviſions fail'd us again; which, together with the Fatigues of Rowing, caus'd old Father *Gabriel* to faint away in ſuch a manner, that I verily thought he could not live; however, I brought him again to his Senſes by means of ſome Confection of *Hyacinth*,[1] which I found very uſeful in our Voyage. We had no other Subſiſtence but a handful of *Indian* Corn once every four and twenty Hours, which we roaſted, or elſe boyled in Water;

[1] The jacinth or hyacinth, a precious stone (the silicate of zircon), was formerly believed to possess medicinal virtues, and may often be found in old formulas.— Ed.

and yet we row'd almoſt every Day from Morning 'till Night. Our Men found some Hawthorn-Berries and other wild Fruit, which they ate ſo greedily, that moſt of them fell ſick, and were thought to be poiſon'd; yet the more we ſuffer'd, the more by the Grace of God I was ſtrong and vigorous; ſo that I could often outrow all our other Canou's.

Being in that diſtreſs, He that takes care of the meaneſt Creatures, afforded us an unexpected Relief; We ſaw upon the Coaſt a great many Ravens and Eagles; from whence we conjectur'd that there was ſome Prey; and having landed on that Place, we found above the half of a fat wild Goat, which the Wolves had ſtrangled. This Proviſion was very acceptable to us, and the rudeſt of our Men could not but praiſe the Divine Providence, who took ſo particular a care of us.

Having thus refreſh'd our ſelves, we continu'd our Voyage directly to the Southern Parts of the Lake, finding every day the Country finer, and the Weather more temperate. On the 16th of *October* we met with abundance of Game: Our Savage kill'd ſeveral Staggs and wild Goats, and our Men [78] a great many Turkey-Cocks very fat and big, wherewith we provided our ſelves for ſeveral Days, and ſo embark'd again. On the 18th we came to the farther end of the Lake, where we landed: Our Men were immediately ſent to view the Country round about that Place, and found a great quantity of ripe Grapes, each Grain of which was as big as a Damaſcen[1]: We fell'd ſeveral Trees to gather them, and made pretty good Wine, which we kept in Gourds, and

[1] In modern form "damson," a small black plum.—Ed.

bury'd in Sand to prevent its growing ſour. All the Trees in that Country are loaded with Vines, which, if cultivated, would make as good Wine as any in *Europe*. That Fruit was more reliſhing to us than Fleſh, becauſe we wanted Bread.

Our Men diſcover'd ſome freſh Prints of Mens Feet, which oblig'd us to ſtand upon our Guard, without making any Noiſe till we had reſted ſome time. That Order was not long obſerv'd; for one of our Men having eſpy'd a Bear upon a Tree, ſhot him down dead, and dragg'd him to our Cabins. M. *la Salle* was very angry with him, and to avoid any Surprize, put a Sentinal near our Canou's, under which we had put our Goods to ſhelter 'em from the Rain.

There were ſixſcore Savages of the Nation of the *Outtouagamis*[1] inhabiting the Bay of *Puans*, encamp'd not far from us; who having heard the Noiſe our Man had made, took the Alarm, and ſent ſome of their Men to diſcover who we were. Theſe creeping upon their Bellies, and keeping great Silence, came in the Night to our Canou's, and ſtole away the Coat of M. *la Salle*'s Footman, and part of the Goods that were under it: But the Sentinel having heard ſome Noiſe, call'd us, and every body run to his Arms. The Savages being diſcover'd, and thinking we were more numerous, cry'd, That they were Friends; but we anſwer'd them, That Friends did not come in ſo unſeaſonable Hours; and that [79] they look'd rather like Robbers, who deſign'd to

[1] The Algonquian tribe called Outagamis (Fr. Rénards, Eng. Foxes), resident in Eastern and Central Wisconsin. For full accounts of this people, and of their wars with other tribes and with the French, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. xvi (Madison, 1902).—Ed.

murther us: Their Captain reply'd, That having heard the Noiſe of a Gun, and knowing that none of their Neighbours uſe Fire-Arms, they thought we were a Party of *Iroqueſe*, and were come with a Deſign to murther them; but that underſtanding we were ſome *Europeans* of *Canada*, whom they lov'd as their Brethren, they could hardly wait till Day to viſit us, and ſmoak in our *Calumet*, or large Pipe. This is the uſual Compliment of the Savages, and the greateſt Mark they can give of their Affection.

We ſeem'd to be ſatisfy'd with their Reaſons, and gave leave to four of them only to come to us, telling them that we would not ſuffer a great number becauſe their Youth was addicted to ſteal, and that our Men could not ſuffer it. Four old Men came to us, whom we entertain'd till Day, and then they retir'd. After they were gone, we found we had been robb'd; and knowing the Genius of the Savages, and that if we did ſuffer this Affront, we ſhould be expos'd every Night to their Inſults; it was reſolv'd to exact Satisfaction from them: Accordingly M. *la Salle* went abroad with ſome of our Men, to endeavour to take ſome of them Priſoners; and having diſcover'd one of their Hunters, he ſeiz'd him, and examin'd him concerning the Robbery they had committed: He confeſs'd the Fact, with all the Circumſtances; whereupon he left him to the cuſtody of two Men; and advancing farther into the Country, took another, whom he brought along with him, and having ſhew'd him his Companion, ſent him back to tell their Captain, That he would kill him, unleſs they return'd what they had robb'd.

CHAP. XXVI.

An Account of the Peace made between us and the Outtouagami's.

THE Savages were mightily puzzl'd at the Meſſage ſent by M. *la Salle;* for having cut in pieces the Coat, and other Goods they had ſtoll'n, and divided the Buttons, they could not make a full Reſtitution; and therefore they reſolv'd to deliver their Man by force; and accordingly the next Morning, *October* 30, they advanc'd to attack us. The *Peninſula* where we were encamp'd, was ſeparated from the Foreſt, where the Savages lay, by a little ſandy Plain; and there being near the Wood two or three Eminences, M. *la Salle* reſolv'd to poſſeſs himſelf of the higher, and detach'd five Men for that Service, following himſelf at a little diſtance with the reſt, every one having roll'd his Covering about the left Arm, to defend themſelves againſt the Arrows of the Savages; for there was not above eight of them who had Fire-Arms.

The Savages ſeeing our Men advancing up to them, were frighted; and the youngeſt retir'd behind a great Tree, but their Captains ſtood their ground, while we poſſeſſed our ſelves of the Eminence I have already mention'd. I left the two *Franciſcans* reading the uſual Prayers, and went with our Men to exhort them to their duty; for having ſeen ſome Battels and Sieges in *Europe*, I was very little afraid of the

Savages. I ſaw two of our Men turning pale; but when I had ſpoken to them, they ſeem'd hearty enough; and M. *la Salle* was mightily pleas'd with my Exhortations. However I conſider'd the conſequence this Quarrel might have, and how advantageous and Chriſtian-like it would be to prevent [81] the effuſion of Blood, and end it in a friendly manner; therefore I advanc'd towards the oldeſt Savage, who ſeeing me without any Arms, thought I came with a deſign to be Mediator, and receiv'd me with Civility; but in the mean time one of our Men having obſerv'd, that one of the Savages had a piece of the Cloth they had ſtoll'n about his Head, came up to him, and ſnatch'd it away. That vigorous Action ſo much terrify'd the Savages, that though they were near ſixſcore Men againſt eleven, they preſented me the Pipe or *Calumet* of Peace, which I receiv'd. M. *la Salle* having paſs'd his Word that they might come ſafe to him, two old Men told him in a Speech, That they did not approve what their young Men had done: That they would have reſtor'd the Goods taken, if it had been poſſible; but that having been cut in pieces, they could do no more but offer to reſtore what was not ſpoil'd, and pay for the reſt. They preſented us at the ſame time with ſome Gowns made of Beavers-Skins to appeaſe M. *la Salle*, who having frown'd a little, told them, That as he deſign'd to wrong or affront no body, he would neither ſuffer any wrong or affront to be put upon him; but that ſeeing they did not approve what their Youth had done, and were willing to make ſatisfaction for the ſame, he accepted their Offers, and would be their Friend.

The Conditions were fully perform'd, and the Peace happily concluded without farther Hoſtility.

The next Day was ſpent in Dancing, Feaſting, and Speeches; and the Chief Captain having taken a particular notice of the Behaviour of the *Franciſcans*, ſaid, *Theſe Grey Coats we value very much; they go barefoot as well as we: They ſcorn our Beaver-Gowns, and refuſe all other Preſents: They carry no Arms to kill us: They flatter and make much of our Children, and give them Knives and other Toys, without expecting any Reward. Thoſe amongſt us who have been in* Canada, *tell us, That* [82] Onnontio (ſo they call the Governour) *loves them very much; and that they have quitted all to come to ſee us. Therefore be pleas'd, Thou who art Captain of theſe Men, to leave amongſt us one of theſe Grey Coats, whom we ſhall bring to our Village, when we have kill'd wild Bulls,*[1] *and make much of him. Thou art likewiſe Maſter of theſe Warriours, and therefore remain amongſt us, inſtead of going among the* Illinois, *who have reſolv'd to murther thee and all thy Soldiers: And how canſt thou reſiſt ſo great a Nation?*

The Captain of the Savages told us, that the *Illinois* had burnt alive an *Iroqueſe*, who confeſs'd that the War the *Iroqueſe* made againſt them, had been fomented by the Inhabitants of *Canada*, who hated them. He told us alſo many other things, which frighted our Men, and made M. *la Salle* very melancholly; for all the Savages we had already met, had told us almoſt the ſame thing. However, knowing how great

[1] A reference to the buffalo, which was usually called, by early writers and explorers, "wild cow," or "wild ox."—Ed.

was the Malice of our Enemies, and therefore ſuſpecting that theſe things might have been ſuggeſted to the Savages, in order to oblige us to give over our Enterprize; or elſe that it was a Contrivance of the Neighbours of the *Illinois*, who were afraid that they ſhould grow too powerful, if we taught them the uſe of Fire-Arms, we reſolv'd to go on with our Voyage, taking in the mean time all neceſſary Precautions for our Security. We told the *Outtouagami's*, That we were much oblig'd to them for their kind Offers and Advice; but that we were not afraid of the *Illinois;* for the *Spirits* know how to gain the Friendſhip of any Nation, by Reaſon or by Force. 'Tis to be obſerv'd, that the Savages being not able to conceive how the *Europeans* can have more Wit than they, and admiring ſome Toys and other Things we bring from *Europe*, own that they are but Men, but that we are *Spirits*, and therefore call us ſo.[1]

[83] The next Day, *November* 1, we embark'd on the Lake of the *Illinois*, and came to the Mouth of the River of the *Miami's*,[2] which runs from the South, and falls into the Lake. We had appointed that Place for our Rendezvous, and expected to meet there the twenty Men we had left at *Miſſilimakinak;* who being order'd to come along the other Coaſt of the Lake, had a much ſhorter cut than we, and beſides their Canou's were not ſo much loaded as ours. However, we found no body there, nor any Mark whereby it could appear that they had been in that Place. We reſolv'd to tell

[1] Cf. La Potherie's *Amérique Septentrionale*, ii, pp. 87–89.— Ed.

[2] An early appellation of the St. Joseph River, on which were settled part of the Miami tribe; an easy portage therefrom to the Kankakee caused this route to be generally used by travelers from Michillimackinac to the Illinois settlements.— Ed.

M. *la Salle*, that it was not fit to tarry any longer for them, nor expoſe our ſelves to the Hardſhip of the Winter; and that it would be then very difficult to meet with the *Illinois*, becauſe they divided themſelves into Tribes or Families, to ſubſiſt more conveniently; that if we were forc'd to remain there during the Winter, and that the Game ſhould come to fail us, all his Men would certainly periſh with Hunger; whereas we might expect to find ſome *Indian* Corn amongſt the *Illinois*, who would rather ſupply with Proviſions fourteen Men than two and thirty. We told him likewiſe, that it would be in a manner impoſſible to continue our Voyage till the Winter was over, if he tarry'd any longer, becauſe the Rivers would be frozen all over, and therefore we could not make uſe of our Canou's. Notwithſtanding theſe Reaſons, M. *la Salle* told us, that it was neceſſary to expect the reſt of his Men, becauſe we ſhould be then in a Condition to diſcover our ſelves to the *Illinois*, and make an Alliance with them; whereas we ſhould be expos'd to their Mercy and Scorn, if we offer'd to enter their Country with ſo few Men; but that in the mean time he would endeavour to meet with ſome of that Nation, and gain them by Preſents to learn their Language; concluding, that although all his Men ſhould run away, he would remain alone [84] with our Savage, and find means to maintain the Three Miſſionaries, meaning I and my two Brethren.

Having therefore call'd his Men together, he told them, That he was reſolv'd to expect the reſt of their Companions; and propos'd to build a Fort in that Place for ſecuring our

Ship; for we did not know then that it had periſh'd; as alſo to ſecure our Goods and our ſelves too, in caſe of any Diſgrace. Our Men ſeem'd very much diſſatisfied; but he us'd ſo many Reaſons, that they told him at laſt, they would entirely follow his Direction.

CHAP. XXVII.

An Account of the Building of a Fort and a Houſe near the River of Miamis.

JUST at the Mouth of the River, there was an Eminence, with a kind of a Platform naturally fortify'd: It was pretty high and ſteep, of a Triangular Form, defended on two ſides by the River, and on the other by a deep Ditch, which the Fall of Waters had made. We fell'd the Trees that were on the top of that Hill, and having clear'd the ſame from Buſhes for about two Musket-ſhot, we began to build a Redoubt of forty Foot long, and eighty broad, with great ſquare pieces of Timber laid one upon the other; and prepar'd a great Number of Stakes of about twenty five Foot long, to drive into the Ground, to make our Fort the more unacceſſible on the River ſide. We imploy'd the whole Month of *November* about that Work, which was very hard, though we had no other Food but the Bears-fleſh our Savage kill'd. Thoſe Beaſts are very common in that place, becauſe of the great quantity of Grapes they find there; but their Fleſh [85] being too fat and luſhious, our Men began to be weary of it, and deſir'd leave to go a hunting, to kill ſome wild Goats. M. *la Salle* deny'd them that Liberty, which caus'd ſome Murmurs amongſt them; and it was but un-

willingly that they continu'd their Work. This together with the approach of the Winter, and the apprehenſion M. *la Salle* had that his Ship was loſt, made him very melancholy, though he conceal'd it as much as he could. We had made a Cabin, wherein we perform'd Divine Service every *Sunday*, and Father *Gabriel* and I, who preach'd alternatively, took care to take ſuch Texts as were ſuitable to our preſent Circumſtances, and fit to inſpire us with Courage, Concord, and brotherly Love. Our Exhortations produc'd a very good Effect, and hindred our Men from deſerting, as they deſign'd.

We ſounded in the mean time, the Mouth of the River, and having found a Sand on which our Ship might ſtrike, we fix'd two great poſts therein, to which we faſtned Bear-Skins as ſo many Buoys to direct the Courſe of our Ship through the Channel ſhe ought to paſs; and for a greater Precaution, two Men were ſent back to *Miſſilimakinak*, to wait there till the return of our Ship, and ſerve as Pilots.

The 20th of *November* M. *Tonti* arriv'd with two Canou's laden with Stags and Deers, which was a welcom Refreſhment to our Men, but he did not bring above half of our Men with him, the reſt being left on the other ſide of the Lake, within three Days Journey from our Fort. M. *la Salle* was very angry with him upon that Account, being afraid that they would run away.

They told us that our Ship had not put into the Bay of *Miſſilimakinak*, as they were order'd, and that they had heard nothing of her ſince we ſail'd, notwithſtanding they had enquir'd as much as they could, from the Savages inhabiting

the Coaſt of the Lake. This confirm'd the Suſpicion, or rather the [86] Belief we had that ſhe was caſt away: However, M. *la Salle* continu'd the Building of his Fort, which was at laſt perfected, and call'd *Fort Miamis.*

The Winter drawing ſo nigh, and M. *la Salle* being afraid that the Ice would ſtop his Voyage, ſent back M. *Tonti* to fetch the Men he had left, and command them to come to him immediately; but meeting with a violent Storm, their Canou was driven againſt the Coaſt, and broke in pieces, whereby they loſt their Guns and Equipage, and were oblig'd to return over-land. Few Days after, all our Men arriv'd except two, who deſerted; ſo that we prepar'd our ſelves to continue our Voyage, the Rains that fell about that time having melted the Ice, and made the Rivers navigable.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A Continuation of our Voyage from Fort Miamis *to the River of the* Illinois.

WE embark'd on the *Third* of *December*, being Three and thirty Men in Eight Canou's, and having left the Lake of the *Illinois*, went up the River *Miamis*, which we had founded before. We made about five and twenty Leagues to the South-Weſt, but cou'd not diſcover the Place where we were to land, and carry our Canou's and Equipage into the River of the *Illinois*, which falls into that of *Meſchaſipi;* that is, in the Language of the *Illinois*, the *Great River*. We had already paſſed the place of the *Portage*, but not knowing whereabouts we were, we thought fit to ſtay there, to expect M. *la Salle*, who was landed to view the Country: We ſtaid a great while, and ſeeing he did not come, I went very far into the Woods with two of our Men, who fir'd their Guns to give him notice of the Place [87] where we were; and in the mean time two others went up the River in their Canou, in order to find him out; but all our Endeavours were in vain, ſo that we return'd towards Evening.

The next Day I went up the River my ſelf, but hearing nothing of him, I came back, and found our Men very much perplex'd, fearing he was loſt; but about four a-clock in the

Afternoon he return'd to us, having his Face and Hands as black as Pitch. He brought along with him two Beaſts as big as Musk'd Rats, whoſe Skins was very fine, and like Ermins. He had kill'd them with a Stick, as they hung by their Tails to the Boughs of Trees.[1]

He told us, that the Marſhes he had met in his way, had oblig'd him to fetch a great Compaſs; and that being much annoy'd by the Snow which fell very thick, it was paſt Midnight before he could arrive upon the Banks of the River; where he fir'd his Gun twice, and that hearing no anſwer, he concluded we were gone up higher, and had therefore march'd that way. He added, that after three Hours March, he ſaw a Fire upon a little Hill, whither he went directly, and hail'd us ſeveral Times, but hearing no Anſwer, he approach'd and found no Body near the Fire, but only ſome dry Herbs, upon which a Man was a little while afore laid, as he conjectur'd, becauſe they were ſtill warm. He ſuppos'd that it was a Savage, who lay thereabouts in an Ambuſcade, and therefore call'd to him in two or three Languages; but no Body anſwering, he cry'd as loud as he could, that to ſhew he was not afraid of him, he was going to lie in his room. However, for fear of any Surprize, he cut ſeveral Boughs and Buſhes, to embaraſs the way, and ſat down by the Fire, which had made his Hands and Face black, as I have obſerv'd. Having thus warm'd and reſted himſelf, he lay down upon the dry Herbs the Savage had gather'd under a Tree,

[1] The opossum, or tree-rat (*Didelphys Virginiana*).— Ed.

and ſlept very [88] well, notwithſtanding the Froſt and Snow. Father *Gabriel* and I deſir'd him to remain with his Men, and not expoſe himſelf for the future, becauſe the Succeſs of our Enterprize depended only upon him; and he promis'd us to follow our Advice.

Our Savage, who remain'd behind for hunting, finding none of us at the Place of the *Portage*, came up higher on the River, and told us, we had miſt it; therefore he was ſent back with all our Canou's, except one which I kept; for M. *la Salle* was ſo weary, that he was oblig'd to lie there that Night. I made a little Cabin with Mats of Mariſh Ruſhes, wherein we lay together, but were in great danger of being burnt, for it took fire by an unhappy Accident, while we were faſt aſleep. The next Morning we joyn'd our Men at the Place of *Portage*, where Father *Gabriel* had made the Day before ſeveral Croſſes upon the Trees, that we might not miſs it another time. We found there a great quantity of Horns and Bones of wild Bulls, as alſo ſome Canou's the Savages had made with the Skins of Beaſts, to croſs the River with their Proviſions. This *Portage* lies at the farther End of a large Champion piece of Ground; and at the other End, to the Weſt, lies a Village of the Savages *Miami's*, *Maſcouteins*, and *Oiatinon*,[1] who live together. The River of the *Illinois* has its Source near that Village, and ſprings out of ſome

[1] All these were Algonquian tribes; the Miamis were closely related to the Illinois. The Mascoutens had dwelt in Wisconsin, whence part of the tribe migrated southward — finding their way, in the early part of the eighteenth century, as far as the Ohio River. The Ouiatanons (called Weas by the English) were settled mainly along the Wabash River. — Ed.

marſhy Lands, which are as ſo many Quagmires, that one can ſcarcely walk over them. The Head of the River is only a League and half from that of *Miamis*, and ſo our *Portage* was not long. We mark'd the way from Place to Place with ſome Trees for the convenience of thoſe we expected after us; and left at the *Portage*, as well as Fort *Miamis*, Letters hanging down from the Trees, containing M. *la Salle's* Inſtructions to our Pilot, and the other five and twenty Men, who were to come with him.

[89] CHAP. XXIX.

An Account of our Embarkment at the Head of the River of the Illinois.

THIS River is navigable within a hundred Paces from its Source; I mean for Canou's of Bark of Trees, and not for others; but it increaſes ſo much a little way from thence, that it is as deep and broad as the *Meuſe* and the *Sambre* joyn'd together. It runs through vaſt Marſhes, and though it be rappid enough, it makes ſo many Turnings and Windings, that after a whole Day's Journey, we found we were hardly two Leagues from the Place we left in the Morning. That Country is nothing but Marſhes full of Alder-Trees and Ruſhes; and we could have hardly found for forty Leagues together, any Place to plant our Cabins, had it not been for the Froſt, which made the Earth more firm and ſolid.

Having paſt through great Marſhes, we found a vaſt Plain, on which nothing grows but only ſome Herbs, which were dry at that time, and burnt, becauſe the *Miami's* ſet them on fire every Year, in their hunting wild Bulls, as I ſhall mention anon. We found no manner of Game, which was a great Diſappointment to us, our Proviſions beginning to fail. Our Men travell'd about ſixty Miles without killing any thing elſe but a lean Stag, a ſmall wild Goat, ſome few Swans, and two

Buſtards, which was no ſufficient Maintenance for two and thirty Men. Moſt of them were ſo weary of this laborious Life, that they would have run away, if poſſible, and gone to the Savages, who were not very far from us, as we judg'd by the great Fires we ſaw in the Plain. There muſt be an innumerable [90] quantity of wild Bulls in that Country, ſince the Earth is cover'd with their Horns. The *Miami's* hunt them towards the latter end of *Autumn*.

We continu'd our Courſe upon this River very near the whole Month of *December;* but toward the latter end of the ſaid Month, 1679, we arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinois*, which lies near one hundred and thirty Leagues from Fort *Miamis*, on the Lake of the *Illinois*.[1] We ſuffer'd very much in this Paſſage; for the Savages having ſet the Herbs of the Plain on fire, the wild Bulls were fled away, and ſo we could kill but one, and ſome Turkey-Cocks. God's Providence ſupported us all the while; and when we thought that the Extremities we were reduc'd to, were paſt all hopes of Remedy, we found a prodigious big wild Bull, lying faſt in the Mud of the River. We kill'd him and had much ado to get him out of the Mud. This was a great Refreſhment to our Men, and reviv'd their Courage; for being ſo timely and unexpectly reliev'd, they concluded that God approv'd our Deſign.

[1] This village was located near the site of the present Utica, Ill.; it was here that Marquette (1675) and Allouez (1677) founded the Illinois mission, among the Kaskaskia tribe. For description, population, etc., see Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 156, *note* 2.— Ed.



Maintenance for two [illegible] were so weary of this [illegible] would have run away, if poſſible, and [illegible] the Savages, who were not very far from us, as we [illegible] the great Fires we ſaw in the Plain. There muſt be an [illegible] quantity of wild Bulls in that Country, ſince the Earth is cover'd with their Horns. The *Miſſouri* hunt them towards the latter end of *Autumn*.

We continu'd our Courſe upon this River [illegible] the whole Month of *December*; but toward the latter end of the ſaid Month, 1673, we arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinois*, which lies near one hundred and thirty Leagues from Fort *Miſſouri*, on the Lake of the *Illinois*.[1] We ſuffer'd very much in this Paſſage; for the Savages having ſet the Grounds of the Plain on fire, the wild Bulls were fled away, and ſo we could kill but one, and ſome Turkey-Cocks. God's Providence ſupported us all the while; and when we thought that the Extremities we were reduc'd to, were paſt all Hopes of Remedy, we found a prodigious big wild Bull lying faſt in the Mud of the River. We kill'd him and had much ado to get him out of the Mud. This was a great Refreſhment to our Men, and reviv'd their Courage: for being ſo timely and unexpectly reliev'd, they concluded that God approv'd our Deſign.

[1] This village was located near the site of the present Utica, Ill.; it was here that Marquette (1673) and Allouez (1677) founded the Illinois mission among the Kaskaskia tribe. For description, population, etc., see Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 156, *note* 2.— Ed.



CHAP. XXX.

A Deſcription of the Hunting of the wild Bulls and Cows, by the Savages; Of the bigneſs of thoſe Beaſts; and of the Advantages and Improvements that may be made of the Plain where they Paſture; and of the Woods thereabouts.

WHEN the Savages diſcover a great Number of thoſe Beaſts together, they likewiſe aſſemble their whole Tribe to encompaſs the Bulls, and then ſet on fire the dry Herbs about them, except in ſome places, which they leave free; and therein lay themſelves in Ambuſcade. The Bulls ſeeing the Flame round about them, run away through thoſe [91] Paſſages where they ſee no Fire; and there fall into the Hands of the Savages, who by theſe Means will kill ſometimes above ſixſcore in a day. They divide theſe Beaſts according to the number of each Family; and ſend their Wives to flay them, and bring the Fleſh to their Cabins. Theſe Women are ſo luſty and ſtrong, that they carry on their Back two or three hundred weight, beſides their Children; and notwithſtanding that Burthen, they run as ſwiftly as any of our Soldiers with their Arms.

Thoſe Bulls have a very fine Coat, more like Wooll than Hair, and their Cows have it longer than the Males; their Horns are almoſt black, and much thicker, though ſomewhat

ſhorter than thoſe of *Europe:* Their Head is of a prodigious Bigneſs, as well as their Neck very thick, but at the ſame time exceeding ſhort: They have a kind of Bump between the two Shoulders: Their Legs are big and ſhort, cover'd with long Wooll; and they have between the two Horns an ugly Buſh of Hair, which falls upon their Eyes, and makes them look horrid.

The Fleſh of theſe Beaſts is very reliſhing, and full of Juice, eſpecially in *Autumn;* for having grazed all the Summer long in thoſe vaſt Meadows, where the Herbs are as high as they, they are then very fat. There is alſo amongſt them abundance of Stags, Deers, and wild Goats; and that nothing might be wanting in that Country, for the Convenience of thoſe Creatures, there are Foreſts at certain diſtances, where they retire to reſt, and ſhelter themſelves againſt the violence of the Sun.

They change their Country according to the Seaſons of the Year; for upon the approach of the Winter, they leave the North to go to the Southern Parts. They follow one another, ſo that you may ſee a Drove of them for above a League together, and ſtop all at the ſame place; and the Ground where they uſe to lie is cover'd with wild Purſlain; which makes [92] me believe, that the Cows Dung is very fit to produce that Herb. Their Ways are as beaten as our great Roads, and no Herb grows therein. They ſwim over the Rivers they meet in their Way, to go and graze in other Meadows. But the Care of the Cows for their Young Ones, cannot be too much admir'd; for there being in thoſe Meadows a great quantity of Wolves, who might ſurprize them,

they go to calve in the Iſlands of the Rivers, from whence they don't ſtir till the young Calves are able to follow them; for then they can protect them againſt any Beaſt whatſoever.

Theſe Bulls being very convenient for the Subſiſtence of the Savages, they take care not to ſcare them from their Country; and they purſue only thoſe whom they have wounded with their Arrows: But theſe Creatures multiply in ſuch a manner, that notwithſtanding the great Numbers they kill every Year, they are as numerous as ever.

The Women ſpin the Wooll of theſe Bulls, and make Sacks thereof to carry their Fleſh in, which they dry in the Sun, or broil upon Gridirons. They have no Salt, and yet they prepare their Fleſh ſo well, that it keeps above four Months without breeding any Corruption; and it looks then ſo freſh, that one wou'd think it was newly kill'd. They commonly boil it, and drink the Broth of it inſtead of Water. This is the ordinary Drink of all the Savages of *America*, who have no Commerce with the *Europeans*. We follow'd their Example in this particular; and it muſt be confeſs'd, that that Broath is very wholſome.

The Skin of one of thoſe Bulls uſually weighs about ſix-ſcore Pound; but the Savages make uſe only of the thinneſt part, as that of the Belly, which they dreſs with the Brains of all ſorts of Beaſts, and thereby make it as ſoft as our *Shamoi's* Skins. They paint them with ſeveral Colours, and adorn with pieces [93] of Porcupine-Skins, red and white,[1] the

[1] Hennepin apparently refers to the embroidery done by Indian women, among nearly all Northern tribes, with quills from the porcupine; these are dyed in various colors.— Ed.

Gowns they make thereof, to appear ſplendidly at Feaſts, and on other ſolemn Occaſions. They make other Gowns againſt cold Weather, wherewith they cover themſelves during the Winter; but theſe plain Gowns, cover'd with curl'd Wooll, are, in my Opinion, the fineſt as well as the beſt.

When they kill any Cows, their young Calves follow them, and lick their Hands. They bring them to their Children, who eat them, after having for ſome time play'd with them. They keep the Hoofs of thoſe little Creatures, and when they are very dry, they tie them to ſome Wand, and move them according to the various Poſtures of thoſe who ſing and dance. This is the moſt ridiculous Muſical Inſtrument that I ever met with.

Theſe young Calves might be eaſily tam'd, and made uſe of to plow the Land, which would be very advantageous to the Savages. Theſe Bulls find in all Seaſons Forrage to ſubſiſt by; for if they are ſurpriz'd in the Northern Countries by the Snow, before they can reach the Southern Parts, they have the dexterity to remove the Snow, and eat the Graſs under it. They bellow like our *European* Bulls, but not ſo frequently.

Though theſe Bulls are taller and bigger than thoſe of *Europe*, they are however ſo ſwift, that no Savage can overtake them: They are ſo timorous, that they run away from any Man, except when they are wounded; for then they are dangerous, and often kill the Savage who purſues them. 'Tis a diverting Proſpect to ſee near the Banks of the Rivers,

ſeveral Droves of thoſe Bulls of about four or five hundred together, grazing in thoſe green Meadows.

There are ſeveral other Beaſts in that Country, as I obſerv'd in my Account of *Louiſiana*, as Stags, wild Goats, Beavers, and Otters; there are alſo Buſtards, which have an excellent Taſte; Swans, Tortoiſes, [94] Turkey-Cocks, Parrots, and Partridges. There are alſo an incredible quantity of Pelicans, whoſe Bills are of a prodigeous Size; and a great many other ſorts of Birds, and other Beaſts.

The Rivers are plentifully ſtock'd with Fiſh, and the Soil is very fertile. The Foreſts afford all manner of Timber fit for Building, and eſpecially Oak; which is there much better than in *Canada*, and would be excellent for building Ships. That Timber might be ſquar'd, ſaw'd, and ready prepar'd upon the Spot, and brought over into *Europe;* which would be very convenient, and give time to the Trees of our Foreſts to grow, whereas they are in a manner exhauſted.

There are in thoſe Foreſts abundance of Trees bearing good Fruit, and of wild Vines, which produce Bunches of Grapes a foot and a half long, and of which when ripe may be made very good Wine. One may ſee there alſo large Countries cover'd with good Hemp, growing naturally ſix or ſeven foot in height. In ſhort, by the Experiments I made among the *Iſſati*, and the *Illinois*, I am perſwaded that the Soil of that Country would produce all manner of Corn, Fruits, *&c.* even more plentifully than in any part of *Europe*, ſeeing there are two Crops every Year.

The Air is very temperate, clear, and open, and the Country, water'd with ſeveral Lakes, Brooks, and Rivers, which are for the moſt part navigable. The Gnats and other little Flies that are ſo troubleſome in *Canada*, and ſome other dangerous Beaſts, are unknown in this Country; which in two Years time might ſupply its Inhabitants, if cultivated, with all things neceſſary for Life, without wanting any thing from *Europe;* and the Iſlands of *America*, with Wine, Bread, and Fleſh. The *Bucaniers* might kill in that Country a greater number of Bulls than in all the Iſlands they reſort to. There are Mines of [95] Coal, Slate, and Iron; and ſeveral Pieces of fine red Copper, which I have found now and then upon the Surface of the Earth, makes me believe that there are Mines of it; and doubtleſs of other Metals and Minerals, which may be diſcover'd one time or another. They have already found Allom [alum] in the Country of the *Iroqueſe.*

CHAP. XXXI.

An Account of our Arrival to the Country of the Illinois, *one of the moſt numerous Nations of the Savages of* America.

THIS Word *Illinois* comes, as it has been already obſerv'd, from *Illini*, which in the Language of that Nation ſignifies *A perfect and accompliſh'd Man.* The Villages of the *Illinois* are ſituated in a Marſhy Plain, about the Fortieth Degree of Latitude, on the Right ſide of the River, which is as broad as the *Meuſe.* Their greateſt Village may have in it Four or five hundred Cabins, every Cabin five or ſix Fires, and each Fire one or two Families, who live together in great Concord. Their Cabins are cover'd with Mats of flat Ruſhes, ſo cloſely ſew'd together, that no Wind, Rain, or Snow can go thro' it. The Union that reigns amongſt that Barbarous People, ought to cover with Shame the Chriſtians; amongſt whom we can ſee no Trace of that brotherly Love, which united the Primitive Profeſſors of Chriſtianity.

When the Savages have gather'd in their *Indian* Corn, they dig ſome Holes in the Ground, where they keep it for Summer-time, becauſe Meat does not keep in hot Weather; whereas they have very little occaſion for it in Winter; and 'tis then their Cuſtom to leave their Villages, and with their whole Families to go a hunting wild Bulls, Beavers, *&c.*

carrying [96] with them but a ſmall quantity of their Corn, which however they value ſo much, that the moſt ſenſible Wrong one can do them, in their Opinion, is to take ſome of their Corn in their abſence. We found no Body in the Village, as we had foreſeen; for the *Illinois* had divided themſelves, according to their Cuſtom, and were gone a hunting. Their Abſence cauſ'd a great Perplexity amongſt us; for we wanted Proviſions, and yet durſt not meddle with the *Indian* Corn the Savages had laid under Ground, for their Subſiſtence, and to ſow their Lands with. However, our Neceſſity being very great, and it being impoſſible to continue our Voyage without any Proviſions, eſpecially ſeeing the Bulls and other Beaſts had been driven from the Banks of the River, by means of Fire, as I have related in my former Chapter, M. *la Salle* reſolv'd to take about forty Buſhels of Corn, in hopes to appeaſe the Savages with ſome Preſents.

We embark'd again with theſe freſh Proviſions, and continu'd to fall down the River, which runs directly to the South. Four Days after, being the Firſt of *January*, 1680, we ſaid Maſs; and having wiſh'd a happy New-year to M. *la Salle*, and to all others, I thought fit to make a pathetical Exhortation to our Grumblers, to encourage them to go on chearfully, and inſpire them with Union and Concord. Father *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, embrac'd them afterwards; and they promis'd us to continue firm in their Duty. The ſame Day we went thro' a Lake form'd by the River, about ſeven Leagues long, and one broad.[1] The Savages call that Place

[1] The expansion of the Illinois River which is now known as Peoria Lake.—Ed.

Pimiteoui[1]; that is, in their Tongue, *A Place where there is abundance of fat Beaſts.* When the River of the *Illinois* freezes, which is but ſeldom, it freezes only to this Lake, and never from thence to the *Meſchaſipi*, into which this River falls. M. *la Salle* obſerv'd here the Elevation of the Pole, and found that this Lake lies [97] in the Latitude of thirty three Degrees and forty five Minutes.

We had been inform'd that the *Illinois* were our Enemies; and therefore M. *la Salle* had reſolv'd to uſe all manner of Precaution when we ſhould meet with them; but we found our ſelves on a ſudden in the middle of their Camp, which took up both ſides of the River. M. *la Salle* order'd immediately his Men to make their Arms ready, and brought his Canou's into a Line, placing himſelf to the Right, and M. *Tonti* to the Left; ſo that we took almoſt the whole breadth of the River. The *Illinois*, who had not yet diſcover'd our Fleet, were very much ſurpriz'd to ſee us coming ſo ſwiftly upon them; for the Stream was extraordinary rapid in that Place: Some run to their Arms; but moſt took their Flight, with horrid Cries and Howlings.

The Current brought us in the mean time to their Camp; and M. *la Salle* went the very firſt a-ſhoar, follow'd by his Men; which increas'd the Conſternation of the Savages, whom we might have eaſily defeated; but as it was not our Deſign, we made a Halt to give them time to recover themſelves, and

[1] Shea says (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 155, note *) that from this point to the end of the chapter "the *Nouvelle Découverte* here abandons the original narrative and (pp. 200–207) copies almost literally from Le Clercq, *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 153–159."—Ed.

ſee that we were no Enemies. M. *la Salle* might have prevented their Confuſion, by ſhewing his *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace; but he was afraid the Savages wou'd impute it to our Weakneſs.

The *Illinois* being exceedingly terrify'd, tho' they were ſeveral thouſand Men, tender'd us the *Calumet* of Peace; and then we offer'd them ours; which being accepted on both ſides, an extraordinary Joy ſucceeded the terrible Fears they had been under upon our landing. They ſent immediately to fetch back thoſe who fled away; and Father *Zenobe* and I went to their Cabins. We took their Children by the Hand, and expreſs'd our Love for them with all the Signs we cou'd: We did the like to the Old Men, having Compaſſion of thoſe poor Creatures, who [98] are ſo miſerable as to be ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer.

Moſt of the Savages, who had run away upon our landing, underſtanding that we were Friends, return'd; but ſome others had been ſo terrifi'd, that they did not come back till three or four Days after, that they were told that we had ſmoak'd in their *Calumet* of Peace. In the mean time we had diſcours'd the Chief of the *Illinois* by our Interpreter, and told them, that we were Inhabitants of *Canada*, and their Friends; that we were come to teach them the Knowledge of the Captain of Heaven and Earth, and the Uſe of Fire-arms, which were unknown to them; with ſeveral other things relating to their advantage. We were forc'd to make uſe of theſe metaphorical Expreſſions, to give them ſome *Idea* of the Supreme DEITY. They heard our Diſcourſes with great

attention, and afterwards gave a great Shout for Joy, repeating theſe Words: *Tepatoui-Nika;* That is, *Well, my Brother, my Friend; thou haſt done very well.* Theſe Savages have more Hamanity than all the others of the Northern *America;* and underſtanding the Subject of our Errand, expreſs'd great Gratitude thereupon. They rubb'd our Legs and Feet near the Fire, with Oil of Bears and Wild Bulls Fat, which, after much Travel, is an incomparable Refreſhment; and preſented us ſome Fleſh to eat, putting the three firſt Morſels into our Mouth with great Ceremonies. This is a great piece of Civility amongſt them.

M. *la Salle* preſented them with ſome Tobacco from *Martinico*, and ſome Axes; and told them, that he had deſir'd them to meet to treat about ſome weighty Matters; but that there was one in particular, which he would diſcourſe them upon before any other. He added, that he knew how neceſſary their Corn was to them; but that being reduc'd to an unſpeakable Neceſſity when he came to their Village, [99] and ſeeing no probability to ſubſiſt, he had been forc'd to take ſome Corn from their Habitations without their leave: That he would give 'em Axes, and other things, in lieu of it, if they could ſpare it; that if they could not, they were free to take it again; concluding, That if they were not able to ſupply us with Proviſions, he deſign'd to continue his Voyage, and go to their Neighbours, who would heartily give him what was neceſſary for his Subſiſtence; but however, to ſhew them his Kindneſs, he would leave a Smith among them, to mend their Axes and other Tools we ſhould ſupply them with. The

Savages having conſider'd our Propoſals, granted all our Demands, and made Alliance with us.

We were oblig'd to uſe many Precautions to make our Alliance laſting and ſolid, becauſe our Enemies did their utmoſt to prevent it. The very ſame Day we came to the Camp of the *Illinois*, one of the Chief Captains of the *Maſcoutens*, whoſe Name was *Monſo*,[1] arriv'd alſo with ſome *Miami's*, and other young Men, who brought with them ſome Axes, Knives, Kettles, and other Goods. Our Enemies had choſen him for that Embaſſie, knowing that the *Illinois* would rather believe him than the *Miamis*, becauſe they had never been in War with the *Maſcoutens*. This Savage arriv'd pretty late, and caball'd all the Night long againſt us: He told them, That M. *la Salle* was a great Friend of the *Iroqueſe*, who were to follow him ſpeedily, with ſome of the *Europeans* from *Canada*, to invade them, and deſtroy their Nation; and that he was ſent by ſome of the *Europeans* themſelves, who could not approve that Treachery of their Countrymen, to give them notice thereof, that they might not be ſurpriz'd. He enforc'd his Arguments, by preſenting them with all the Goods he had brought along with him; and thinking he had gain'd his Point, went back the ſame Night, fearing, with much Reaſon, that M. *la Salle* would reſent [100] that Maſter-piece of Villany, and puniſh him for it. The *Illinois* were aſſembled in Council all the Night, (for they never treat of any ſecret Affairs during the Day) and did not know what Meaſures to take; for tho' they did

[1] Probably Monso is a misprint for Mouso. — PARKMAN (*La Salle*, p. 161, *note* 1).

not believe all the Stories the *Maſcouten* had made unto them, yet the next Day they appear'd very indifferent, and miſtruſtful of us. As they ſeem'd to contrive ſomething againſt us, we began to be uneaſie; but M. *la Salle*, who ſuſpected that their ſudden Alteration towards us was the Effect of a falſe Report, made ſuch Preſents to one of their Chiefs, that he told him all the Particulars of the Embaſſie and Negotiation of *Monſo;* and thereby enabled him to remove the Jealouſie of the *Illinois*, and confound the wicked Deſigns of our Enemies.

He manag'd that Point with ſuch Dexterity, that he did not only regain the Friendſhip of that Nation, but likewiſe undeceiv'd the *Maſcouten* and *Miami's;* and was Mediator between the latter and the *Illinois*, who by his means made an Alliance, which laſted all the while we remain'd in thoſe Countries.

CHAP. XXXII.

An Account of what hapned to us while we remain'd among the Illinois, *till the Building of a New Fort.*

SOME Days after, *Nikanape*, Brother to *Cheſſagouaſſe*, the moſt conſiderable Chief of the *Illinois*, who was then abſent, invited us to a great Feaſt; and before we ſate down to eat, made a long Speech, very different from what the other Captains had told us upon our arrival. He ſaid that he had invited us not ſo much to give us a Treat, as to endeavour to diſſuade us from the Reſolution we had taken, to go down to the Sea by the great River *Meſchaſipi*. He added, That ſeveral had periſh'd, having ventur'd [101] upon the ſame Enterprize, the Banks of that River being inhabited by barbarous and bloody Nations, whom we ſhould be unable to reſiſt, notwithſtanding our Valour and the Goodneſs of our Arms; that that River was full of dangerous Monſters, as Crocodiles, Tritons, (meaning a Sea-monſter) and Serpents; that ſuppoſing the Barque we deſign'd to build was big enough to protect us againſt the Dangers he had mention'd, yet it would avail us nothing againſt another which was inevitable: *For*, ſaid he, *the River* Meſchaſipi *is ſo full of Rocks and Falls towards its Mouth, that the Rapidity of the Current cannot be maſter'd, which will carry your Barque into a*

horrid Whirlpool, that ſwallows up every thing that comes near it; and even the River it ſelf, which appears no more, loſing it ſelf in that hideous and bottomleſs Gulf.

He added ſo many other Circumſtances, and appear'd ſo ſerious, and ſo much concern'd for us, that two of our Men, who underſtood their Language, but not their Politicks, were moved at it, and their Fear appear'd in their Faces. We obſerv'd it, but could not help it; for it would be an unpardonable Affront to interrupt a Savage; and beſides, we had perhaps encreas'd the Alarms of our Men. When *Nikanape* had made an end of his Diſcourſe, we anſwer'd him in ſo calm a manner, that he cou'd not fancy we were ſurpris'd at his Objections againſt our Voyage.

Our Interpreter told him, by order of M. *la Salle*, that we were much oblig'd to him for the Advices he gave us; but that the Difficulties and Dangers he had mention'd, would make our Enterprize ſtill more glorious; that we fear'd the Maſter of the Life of all Men, who rul'd the Sea, and all the World; and therefore wou'd think it a Happineſs to lay down our Lives to make his Name known to all his Creatures. We added, that we believ'd that moſt of the Dangers he had mention'd were not in being; but that [102] the Friendſhip he had for us, had put him upon that Invention, to oblige us to remain with them. We thought fit, however, to let him know, that we perceiv'd our Enemies had fomented ſome Jealouſies in their Mind, and that they ſeem'd to miſtruſt our Deſigns; but as we were ſincere in our Dealings, we deſir'd them to let us know freely, and without

any Diſguiſe, the Grounds of their Suſpicions, that we might ſatisfie them, and clear our ſelves; concluding, that ſeeing our Demand was ſo juſt and equitable, we expected they would grant it, or elſe that we ſhould have reaſon to think that the Joy they had expreſs'd upon our Arrival, and the Friendſhip they had ſince ſhew'd to us, was nothing but a Deceit and Diſſimulation. *Nikanape* was not able to anſwer us, and therefore chang'd his Diſcourſe, deſiring us to eat.

The Dinner being over, our Interpreter reaſſum'd his Diſcourſe, and told the Company, that we were not ſurpriz'd at the Envy their Neighbours expreſs'd about our Arrival into their Country, becauſe they knew too well the Advantages of Commerce, and therefore would engroſs it to themſelves, and obſtruct by all means our good Correſpondence; but that we wonder'd that they wou'd give Ear to the Suggeſtions of our common Enemies, and conceal any thing from us, ſince we had ſo ſincerely acquainted them with our Deſigns.

We did not ſleep, Brother, ſaid he, directing his Diſcourſe to *Nicanape*, *when* Monſo *was caballing amongſt you in the Night to our Prejudice, endeavouring to make you believe that we were Spies of the* Iroqueſe. *The Preſents he made to enforce his Lies, are ſtill hidden in this Cabin. But why has he run away immediately after, inſtead of appearing publickly to juſtifie his Accuſation? Thou art a Witneſs thy ſelf, that upon our landing we might have kill'd all thy Nephews, and done what our Enemies tell you we deſign to do, after we have made Alliance with thee,*

and ſettled our ſelves amongſt you. But if it were our Deſign, [103] *why ſhould we defer to put it into execution? And who hinders our Warriours, who are here with me, to kill all of you, whilſt your young Men are a hunting? Thou haſt been told, that our Valour is terrible to the* Iroqueſe *themſelves; and therefore we need not their Aſſiſtance to wage War with thee, if it were our Deſign.*

But to remove even the leaſt Pretence of Suſpicion and Jealouſie, ſend ſomebody to bring back that malicious Accuſer, and we will ſtay here to confute him in thy Preſence: For how can he know us, ſeeing he never ſaw us in his Life? And how can he be acquainted with the ſecret League we have made with the Iroqueſe, *whom he knows only by Name? Conſider our Equipage; we have nothing but Tools and Goods, which can never be made uſe of, but for the Good of thy Nation, and not for its Deſtruction, as our Enemies would make thee believe.*

This Diſcourſe mov'd them very much; and they ſent after *Monſo* to bring him back; but the Snow which fell that Night ſpoil'd the Tract [*sc.* Track], and ſo he could not be over-taken. He had remain'd for ſome Days not far from us, to know what would be the ſucceſs of his Embaſſie. However, ſome of our Men lay under ſuch terrible Apprehenſions, that we could never recover their Courage, nor remove their Fears; ſo that ſix of them who had the Guard that Night (amongſt which were two Sawers, the moſt neceſſary of our Workmen for building our Ship) run away, taking with them what they thought neceſſary; but conſidering the

Country through which they were to travel, and the Seaſon of the year, we may ſay, that for avoiding an uncertain Peril, they expos'd themſelves to a moſt certain Danger.

M. *la Salle* ſeeing that thoſe ſix Men were gone, and fearing that this Deſertion would make a diſadvantageous Impreſſion upon the Savages, he order'd his Men to tell the *Illinois*, that he had reſolv'd to ſend after them to puniſh them as they deſerv'd; but that the Seaſon being ſo hard, he was loth to expoſe [104] his Men; and that thoſe Deſerters would be ſeverely puniſh'd in *Canada*. In the mean time we exhorted the reſt to continue firm in their Duty, aſſuring them, That if any were afraid of venturing themſelves upon the River *Meſchaſipi*, becauſe of the Dangers *Nikanape* had mention'd, M. *la Salle* would give them leave to return next Spring to *Canada*, and allow them a Canou to make their Voyage; whereas they could not venture to return home at this time of the Year, without expoſing themſelves to periſh with Hunger, Cold, or the Hands of the Savages.

They promis'd Wonders; but M. *la Salle* knowing their Inconſtancy, and diſſembling the Vexation their want of Courage and Reſolution caus'd him, reſolv'd to prevent any farther Subornation, and to leave the Camp of the *Illinois;* but leſt his Men ſhould not conſent to it, he call'd them together and told them we were not ſafe among the *Illinois*, and that perhaps the *Iroqueſe* would come in a little time to attack them; and that theſe being not able to reſiſt, they were like to run away, and betake themſelves to the Woods, and leave us expos'd to the Mercy of the *Iroqueſe*, whoſe

Cruelty was ſufficiently known to us; therefore he knew no other Remedy but to fortifie a Poſt, where we might defend our ſelves both againſt the *Illinois* and *Iroqueſe*, as occaſion ſhould require. Theſe Reaſons, with ſome other Arguments which I added to the ſame purpoſe, proved powerful enough to engage them to approve M. *la Salle*'s Deſign; and ſo it was reſolv'd to build a Fort in a very advantageous Place on the River, four Day's Journey below the great Village of the *Illinois*.

[105] CHAP. XXXIII.

Reflections upon the Temper and Manners of the Illinois, *and the little Diſpoſition they have to embrace Chriſtianity.*

BEFORE I ſpeak in particular of the *Illinois*, I think fit to obſerve here, that there is a Nation of the *Miami's*, who inhabit the Banks of a fine River, within fifteen Leagues from the Lake, in the Latitude of 41 Degrees. The *Maskoutens* and *Outtouagami's* live more Northward on the River *Mellioki* [Milwaukee], which runs into the Lake in the Latitude of 43 Degrees. To the Weſt of it live the *Kikapous* and *Ainoves*,[1] who have two Villages; and to the Weſt of theſe there is the Village of the *Illinois Caſcaſchia*, ſituated towards the Source of the River *Checagoumenans* [Chicago]. The *Authoutantas* and *Maskoutens-Nadoueſſians* live within one hundred and thirty Leagues of the *Illinois*, in three great Villages, on the Banks of a fine River which diſcharges it ſelf into the great River

[1] The Aiouas, or Iowas, a Siouan tribe; called by André (1676) Nadoessi Mascouteins, or "Sioux of the Prairies." When first known to the white men, this tribe were located in Southern Minnesota; but early in the nineteenth century dwelt on the Iowa and Des Moines Rivers, in the present State of Iowa.

The Kickapoos, an Algonquian tribe of Southern Wisconsin, were closely allied to the Mascoutens, whom they finally absorbed. The Kaskaskias were located south (not west) of the Kickapoos, near Utica, Ill. (see p. 146, *note* 1, *ante*). The other peoples here named are the Otoes and some other Siouan tribe (perhaps one of the Teton division; see p. 107, *note* 1, *ante*).— Ed.

Meſchaſipi. We ſhall have occaſion to talk of theſe and ſeveral other Nations.

Moſt of theſe Savages, and eſpecially the *Illinois*, make their Cabins of flat Ruſhes, which they ſew together, and line them with the ſame; ſo that no Rain can go through it. They are tall, ſtrong, and manage their Bows and Arrows with great dexterity; for they did not know the uſe of Fire-Arms before we came into their Country. They are Lazy, Vagabonds, Timorous, Pettiſh, Thieves, and ſo fond of their Liberty, that they have no great Reſpect for their Chiefs.

Their Villages are open, and not enclos'd with Paliſado's, as in ſome other Places, becauſe they have not Courage enough to defend them, for they fly [106] away as ſoon as they hear their Enemies approach. Beſides their Arrows, they uſe two other Weapons, a kind of a Pike, and a Club of Wood. Their Country is ſo fertile, that it ſupplies them with all Neceſſaries for Life, and eſpecially ſince we taught them the uſe of Iron Tools to cultivate it.

Hermaphrodites are very common amongſt them, which is ſo much the more ſurprizing, becauſe I have not obſerv'd any ſuch thing amongſt the other Nations of the Northern *America*. Poligamy is allow'd amongſt them; and they generally marry ſeveral Siſters, thinking they agree better than Strangers. They are exceedingly jealous, and cut the Noſes of their Wives upon the leaſt ſuſpicion. Notwithſtanding they have ſeveral Wives, they are ſo laſcivious as to be guilty of Sodomy, and keep Boys whom they cloath with Womens Apparel, becauſe they make of them that abominable Uſe.

Theſe Boys live in their Families amongſt Women, without going either to their Wars or Hunting.[1] As to their Religion I obſerv'd that they are very ſuperſtitious; but I cou'd never diſcover that they had any Worſhip, nor any Reaſon for their Superſtition. They are great Gameſters, as well as all the other Savages that I have known in *America*.

As there are ſome ſtony Places in this Country, where there is a great quantity of Serpents, very trou[ble]ſome to the *Illinois*, they know ſeveral Herbs which are a quicker and ſurer Remedy againſt their Venom, than our Treacle or Orvietan. They rub themſelves with theſe Herbs, after which they play with thoſe dangerous Serpents, without receiving any hurt. They take the young ones and put them ſometimes into their Mouth. They go ſtark naked in Summer-time, wearing only a kind of Shooes made of the Skins of Bulls; but the Winter being pretty ſevere in their Country, tho' very ſhort, they wear Gowns made of the Skins of Wild Beaſts, or of Bulls, which [107] they dreſs and paint moſt curiouſly, as I have already obſerv'd.

The *Illinois*, as moſt of the Savages of *America*, being brutiſh, wild, and ſtupid, and their Manners being ſo oppoſite to the Morals of the Goſpel, their Converſion is to be deſpair'd of, till Time and Commerce with the *Europeans* has remov'd their natural Fierceneſs and Ignorance, and thereby made 'em more apt to be ſenſible of the Charms of Chriſ-

[1] A custom prevalent among the Southern and Western tribes, and mentioned by many travelers and writers, even down to a comparatively recent period. These boys and men, commonly known as "berdashes" (Fr. *bardache*), were held by the savages in the utmost contempt.—*Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 309, 310.

tianity. I have met with ſome who were more teachable; and Father *Zenobe* told me, that he Baptiz'd two or three of them at the point of Death, becauſe they deſir'd it; and ſhew'd ſome good Diſpoſition to induce him to grant that Demand. They will readily ſuffer us to baptize their Children, and would not refuſe it themſelves; but they are incapable of any previous Inſtruction concerning the Truth of the Goſpel, and the Efficacy of the Sacraments. Would I follow the Example of ſome other Miſſionaries, I could have boaſted of many Converſions; for I might have eaſily baptiz'd all thoſe Nations, and then ſay, as I am afraid they do without any ground, That I had converted them.

Father *Zenobe* had met with two Savages, who had promis'd to follow him every where, whom he inſtructed and baptiz'd; but tho' they were more tractable than the reſt, they would not leave their Country; and he underſtood afterwards, that one of them, whoſe Name was *Chaſſagouache*, was dead in the hands of the *Junglers*,[1] and conſequently in the Superſtitions of his Country-Men; ſo that his Baptiſm ſerv'd only to make him *duplo Filius Gehennæ*.[2]

[1] A reference to the medicine-men of the Indians, commonly called "jugglers" or "sorcerers" by French writers. For full accounts of their practices, as physicians, diviners, and sorcerers, see *Jes. Relations* (*art.* Indians: mythology, etc.—medicine-men).—Ed.

[2] Shea points out (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 175, note ‡) that the entire chapter here ended is taken from Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 173–181.—Ed.

[108] CHAP. XXXIV.

An Account of the Building of a New Fort on the River of the Illinois, *named by the Savages* Checagou, *and by us Fort* Crevecœur; *as alſo a Barque to go down the River* Meſchaſipi.

I MUST obſerve here, that the hardeſt Winter laſts not above two Months in this charming Country; ſo that on the 15th of *January* there came a ſudden Thaw, which made the Rivers navigable, and the Weather ſo mild as it is with us in the middle of the Spring. M. *la Salle* improving this fair Seaſon, deſir'd me to go down the River with him to chooſe a Place fit to build our Fort. After having view'd the Country we pitch'd upon an Eminence on the Bank of the River, defended on that ſide by the River, and on two others by two Ditches the Rains had made very deep by ſucceſſion of Time; ſo that it was acceſſible only by one way; therefore we caſt a Line to joyn thoſe two natural Ditches, and made the Eminence ſteep on every ſide, ſupporting the Earth with great pieces of Timber. We made a haſty Lodgment thereupon, to be ready to defend us in caſe the Savages would obſtruct the building of our Fort; but no body offering to diſturb us, we went on diligently with our work. Fathers *Gabriel*, *Zenobe*, and I, made in the mean time a Cabin of Planks, wherein our Workmen came to Prayers

every Morning and Evening; but having no Wine, we could not ſay Maſs. The Fort being half finiſh'd, M. *la Salle* lodg'd himſelf in the middle with M. *Tonti;* and every body took his Poſt. We plac'd our Forge along the Courtin on the ſide of the Wood, and laid in a great quantity of Coals for that uſe.

In the mean time our thoughts were always bent [109] towards our Diſcovery, and M. *la Salle* and I had frequent Conferences about it: But our greateſt difficulty was to build a Barque; for our Sawers being gone, we did not know what to do. However, as the Timber was cheap enough, we told our Men, that if any of them would undertake to ſaw Boards for Building the ſaid Barque, we might ſurmount all other Difficulties. Two Men undertook it; and though they had never try'd it before, they ſucceeded very well, ſo that we began to build a Barque, the Keel whereof was forty two Foot long. Our Men went on ſo briskly with the Work, that on the firſt of *March* our Barque was half built, and all the Timber ready prepar'd for the finiſhing of it. Our Fort was alſo very near finiſh'd; and we nam'd it the Fort of *Crevecœur*, becauſe the deſertion of our Men, and the other Difficulties we labour'd under, had almoſt broke our Hearts.[1]

Though the Winter is not harder nor longer in the Country of the *Illinois*, than in *Provence*, the Snow remain'd upon the Earth, in the Year 1680, for twenty days together,

[1] Shea thinks (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 175, *note* †) that La Salle thus named his fort out of compliment to Louis XIV, in allusion to his capture (1672) and subsequent demolition of Fort Crêvecœur, a stronghold in the Netherlands, near Bois-le-Duc. La Salle's fort was located a little below Peoria.— Ed.

which had not been ſeen in the Memory of Man. This made the Savages mightily concern'd, and brought upon us a World of inconveniencies, beſides the many others we ſuffer'd. In the mean time we perfected our Fort; and our Barque was in ſuch a forwardneſs, that we might have expected to be in a condition to ſail in a very ſhort time, had we been provided with all other Neceſſaries; but hearing nothing of our Ship, and therefore wanting the Rigging and other Tackle for our Barque, we found our ſelves in great perplexity, and did not know what to do in this ſad Juncture, being above five hundred Leagues from Fort *Frontenac*, whither it was almoſt impoſſible to return at that time, becauſe the Snow made the travelling very dangerous by Land, and the Ice made it impracticable to our Canou's.

[110] M. *la Salle* did not doubt then but his belov'd *Griffin* was loſt[1]; but neither this nor the other Difficulties dejected him; his great Courage buoy'd him up, and he reſolv'd to return to Fort *Frontenac* by Land, notwithſtanding the Snow, and the unſpeakable Dangers attending ſo great a Voyage. We had a long Conference about it in private, wherein having examin'd all things, it was reſolv'd, that he ſhould return to Fort *Frontenac* with three Men, to bring along with him the neceſſary things to proceed on our Diſcovery, while I with two Men ſhould go in a Canou to the River *Meſchaſipi*, and endeavour to get the Friendſhip of thoſe Nations inhabiting the Banks of that River. Our Reſolution was certainly very great and bold; but there was this eſſential

[1] See concluding portion of chap. xxii *ante*.— Ed.

difference, that the Inhabitants of the Countries through which M. *la Salle* was to travel, knew the *Europeans;* whereas thoſe Savages, whom I deſign'd to viſit, had never heard of us in their Life; and had been repreſented by the *Illinois*, as the moſt barbarous Nations in the World. However, M. *la Salle* and I had Courage enough to undertake our difficult Task; but we had much ado to perſwade five of our Men to follow us, or to engage to expect our Return at Fort *Crevecœur*.

CHAP. XXXV.

Containing an Account of what was tranſacted at Fort Crevecœur *before M.* la Salle*'s return to Fort* Frontenac; *and the Inſtructions we receiv'd from a Savage concerning the River* Meſchaſipi.

BEFORE M. *la Salle* and I parted, we found means to undeceive our Men, and remov'd the groundleſs Fears they had conceiv'd from what the *Illinois*, through the Suggeſtions of *Monſo*, had told us concerning [111] the Dangers, or rather the Impoſſibility of Sailing upon the River *Meſchaſipi*. Some Savages inhabiting beyond that River, came to the Camp of the *Illinois*, and gave us an Account of it, very different from what *Nikanape* had told us; ſome other Savages own'd that it was navigable, and not interrupted by Rocks and Falls, as the *Illinois* would make us believe; and one of the *Illinois* themſelves, being gain'd by ſome ſmall Preſents, told us in great ſecreſie, that the Account their Chief had given us, was a downright Forgery, contriv'd on purpoſe to oblige us to give over our Enterprize. This reviv'd ſomewhat our Men; but yet they were ſtill wavering and irreſolute; and therefore M. *la Salle* ſaid, that he would fully convince them, that the *Illinois* had reſolv'd in their

Council to forge that Account, in order to ſtop our Voyage; and few days after we met with a favourable opportunity for it.

The *Illinois* had made an Excurſion South-ward; as they were returning with ſome Priſoners, one of their Warriours came before their Comrades, and viſited us at our Fort; we entertain'd him as well as we could, and ask'd him ſeveral Queſtions touching the River *Meſchaſipi*, from whence he came, and where he had been oftentimes, giving him to underſtand that ſome other Savage had given us an Account of it. He took a piece of Charcoal, and drew a Map of the Courſe of that River, which I found afterwards pretty exact; and told us, that he had been in a *Pyrogue;* that is, a Canou made of the Trunk of a Tree, from the Mouth of this River, very near the Place where the *Meſchaſipi* falls into the great Lake; for ſo they call the Sea: That there was neither Falls, nor rapid Currents, as we had been told; that it was very broad towards the great Lake, and interrupted with Banks of Sand; but that there were large Canals betwixt them, deep enough for any *Pyrogue*. He told [112] us alſo the Name of ſeveral Nations inhabiting the Banks of *Meſchaſipi*, and of ſeveral Rivers that fall into it. I ſet down in my Journal all that he told us, of which I ſhall perhaps give a larger Account in another place. We made him a ſmall Preſent, to thank him for his Kindneſs, in diſcovering a Truth, which the Chief of his Nation had ſo carefully conceal'd. He deſir'd us to hold our tongue, and never to mention him, which we prom-

is'd; and gave him an Axe, wherewith we ſhut his mouth, according to the Cuſtom of the Savages, when they recommend a Secret.

The next day, after Prayers, we went to the Village of the *Illinois;* whom we found in the Cabin of one of their Chiefs; who entertain'd them with a Bear, whoſe Fleſh is much valu'd among them. They deſir'd us to ſit down upon a fine Mat of Ruſhes: And ſome time after our Interpreter told them, that we were come to acquaint them, that the Maker of all Things, and the Maſter of the Lives of Men, took a particular Care of us, and had been pleas'd to let us have a true Account of the River *Meſchaſipi;* the Navigation whereof they had repreſented to us as impracticable. We added all the Particulars we had learn'd, but in ſuch Terms, that it was impoſſible they ſhould ſuſpect any of their Men.

The Savages were much ſurpriz'd, and did not doubt but we had that Account by ſome extraordinary Way; therefore they ſhut their Mouths with their Hands; which is their uſual Cuſtom to expreſs their Admiration by. They told us frankly afterwards, that the great deſire they had to ſtop amongſt them our Captain, and the *Grey-Coats* or *Barefoot*, as they call the *Franciſcans*, had oblig'd them to forge the Stories they had told us, and to conceal the Truth; but ſince we had come to the Knowledge of it by another way, they would tell us all that they knew; and confirm'd every Particular their Warriour had [113] told us. This Confeſſion remov'd the Fears of our Men, who were few days after ſtill more fully perſwaded that the *Illinois* had only deſign'd to frighten us

from our Diſcovery: For ſeveral Savages of the Nations of *Oſages*, *Cikaga*, and *Akanſa*,[1] came to ſee us, and brought fine Furrs to barter for our Axes. They told us that the *Meſchaſipi* was navigable almoſt from its Source to the Sea; and gave us great Encouragement to go on with our Deſign, aſſuring us, that all the Nations inhabiting along the River, from the Mouth of that of the *Illinois*, to the Sea, would come to meet us, and dance the *Calumet* of Peace,[2] as they expreſs it, and make an Alliance with us.

The *Miami's* arriv'd much about that time, and danc'd the *Calumet* with the *Illinois*, making an Alliance with them againſt the *Iroqueſe*, their implacable Enemies. We were Witneſſes to their Treaty; and M. *la Salle* made them ſome Preſents, the better to oblige both Parties to the Obſervation of their League.

We were three Miſſionaries for that handful of *Europeans* at Fort *Crevecœur;* and therefore we thought fit to divide our

[1] J. O. Dorsey thinks (*Amer. Naturalist*, xx, pp. 211–222) that, ages ago, all the Siouan race dwelt east of the Mississippi, and gradually moved westward. Five tribes — the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas — were then together as one nation; they were called Arkansa (Akansa) by the Illinois tribes, and lived near the Ohio. At the mouth of that river they separated (prior to 1540), the Kwapas descending, the other tribes ascending, the Mississippi. At another and later separation, after these latter tribes had gone some distance up the Missouri, the Osages and Kansas settled on the rivers bearing those respective names.

The Chicasas (Cikaga, Chickasaws), a Maskoki tribe in Northern Mississippi, were warlike and enterprising, and carried on trade with the English as early as 1700. Frequent hostilities occurred between them and the French, and tribes defeated by the latter sought refuge among the Chicasas.—*Jes. Relations*, lxiv, pp. 279, 280; lxviii, 328.

[2] Regarding the calumet dance, see *Jes. Relations*, li, pp. 47–49; lix, 129, 137, 159, 311 (where is given the notation of the song accompanying the dance); lxiv, 29; lxv, 121, 125, 149, 267; lxvii, 249–253, 299; lxix, 289. Cf. Charlevoix's *Journal historique*, pp. 296, 297; and *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1881–82, pp. 276–282.— Ed.

ſelves: Father *Gabriel* being very old, was to continue with our Men; and Father *Zenobe* among the *Illinois*, having deſir'd it himſelf, in hopes to convert that numerous Nation: And I, as I have already related, was to go on with our Diſcovery. Father *Zenobe* liv'd already among the *Illinois*, but the rude Manners of that People made him ſoon weary of it. His Landlord, whoſe Name was *Omahouha*, that is to ſay *Wolf*, was the Head of a Tribe, and took a ſpecial Care of Father *Zenobe*, eſpecially after M. *la Salle* had made him ſome Preſents: He lov'd him as his Child; but however, I perceiv'd in the Viſits he made us, (for he liv'd but within half a League of our Fort) that he was not ſatisfi'd to live amongſt that brutiſh Nation, though he had already learn'd their Tongue. This oblig'd me to offer him [114] to take his place, provided he would ſupply mine, and go on with our Diſcovery amongſt ſeveral Nations, whoſe Language we did not underſtand, and who had never heard of us; but Father *Zenobe* foreſeeing the Danger and Fatigue I was like to be expos'd to, choſe to remain with the *Illinois*, whoſe Temper he knew, and with whom he was able to converſe.

M. *la Salle* left M. *Tonti* to command in Fort *Crevecœur*, and order'd our Carpenter to prepare ſome thick Planks of Oak, to fence the Deck of our Barque in the nature of a Parapet, to cover it againſt the Arrows of the Savages, in caſe they deſign'd to ſhoot at us from the Shoar. Then calling his Men together, he deſir'd them to obey M. *Tonti's* Orders in his Abſence, to live in a Chriſtian Union and Charity; to be courageous and firm in their Deſign; and

above all, to give no credit to the falſe Reports that the Savages might make unto them, either of him, or of their Comrades that were going with me. He aſſur'd them, that he would return with all the ſpeed imaginable, and bring along with him a freſh Supply of Men, Ammunition, and Rigging for our Barque; and that in the mean time he left them Arms, and other things neceſſary for a vigorous Defence, in caſe their Enemies ſhould attack them before his Return.

He told me afterwards, that he expected I ſhould depart without any farther Delay; but I told him, that tho' I had promis'd him to do it, yet a Defluxion I had on my Gums a Year ſince, as he knew very well, oblig'd me to return to *Canada*, to be cur'd; and that I would then come back with him. He was very much ſurpriz'd, and told me, he would write to my Superiours, that I had obſtructed the good Succeſs of our Miſſion, and deſir'd Father *Gabriel* to perſwade me to the contrary. That good Man had been my Maſter, during my *Novitiate* in [115] our Convent of *Bethune*, in the Province of *Artois;* and therefore I had ſo great a Reſpect for him, that I yielded to his Advice; and conſider'd, that ſince a Man of his Age had ventur'd to come along with me in ſo dangerous a Miſſion, it would look as Puſilanimity in me to return and leave him. That Father had left a very good Eſtate, being Heir of a Noble Family of the Province of *Burgundy;* and I muſt own, that his Example reviv'd my Courage upon ſeveral Occaſions.

M. *la Salle* was mightily pleas'd when I told him I was

reſolv'd to go, notwithſtanding my Indiſpoſition: He embrac'd me, and gave me a *Calumet* of Peace; and two Men to manage our Canou, whoſe Names were *Anthony Auguel*, ſirnam'd the *Picard du Gay;* and *Mitchel Ako*,[1] of the Province of *Poictou*, to whom he gave ſome Commodities to the value of about 1000 Livres, to trade with the Savages, or make Preſents. He gave to me in particular, and for my own uſe, ten Knives, twelve Shooe-maker's Auls or Bodkins, a ſmall Roll of Tobacco from *Martinico*, about two Pounds of *Raſſade*[2]; that is to ſay, Little Pearls or Rings of colour'd Glaſs, wherewith the Savages make Bracelets, and other Works, and a ſmall Parcel of Needles to give to the Savages; telling me, that he would have given me a greater quantity, if it had been in his Power.

The Reader may judge by theſe Particulars, of the reſt of my Equipage for ſo great an Undertaking; however, relying my ſelf on the Providence of God, I took my leave of M. *la Salle*, and embrac'd all our Men, receiving the Bleſſing of Father *Gabriel*, who told me ſeveral things, to inſpire me with Courage; concluding his Exhortation by theſe Words of the Scripture, *Viriliter age, & confortetur Cor tuum.*

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[1] Antoine Auguel was called "le Picard," because he came from the province of Picardy. Michel Accau (Ako) was a trader, who had married the daughter of a Kaskaskia chief. Parkman says (*La Salle*, p. 173, *note* 1): "It appears, from La Salle's letters, that Accau was the real chief of the party; that their orders were to explore, not only the Illinois, but also a part of the Mississippi; and that Hennepin volunteered to go with the others."— Ed.

[2] The term *rassade* was applied to spherical or ovate wampum beads; the long tubular beads were called *canons*.— Ed.

M. *la Salle* ſet out a few days after for *Canada*, with three Men, without any Proviſions, but what they kill'd in their Journey, during which they ſuffer'd [116] very much, by reaſon of the Snow, Hunger and cold Weather.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Author ſets out from Fort Crevecœur, *to continue his Voyage.*

WHOSOEVER will conſider the Dangers to which I was going to expoſe my ſelf, in an unknown Country, where no *European* had travell'd before, and amongſt ſome Savages, whoſe Language I did not underſtand, will not blame the Reluctancy I expreſſed againſt that Voyage: I had ſuch an Idea of it, that neither the fair Words, or Threats of M. *la Salle*, would have been able to engage me to venture my Life ſo raſhly, had I not felt within my ſelf a ſecret but ſtrong Aſſurance, if I may uſe that Word, that God would help and proſper my Undertaking.

We ſet out from Fort *Crevecœur* on the 29th of *February*, 1680, and as we fell down the River, we met with ſeveral Companies of Savages, who return'd to their Habitations, with their *Pirogues* or Wooden-Canou's, loaded with the Bulls they had kill'd: they would fain perſuade us to return with them, and the two Men who were with me, were very willing to follow their Advice; telling me that M. *la Salle* had as good to have murther'd us: But I oppos'd their Deſign, and told them that the reſt of our Men wou'd ſtop them as they ſhou'd come by the Fort, if they offer'd to return, and ſo we continu'd our Voyage. They confeſs'd to me the next

Day, that they had reſolv'd to leave me with the Savages, and make their Eſcape with the Canou and Commodities, thinking that there was no Sin in that, ſince M. *la Salle* was indebted to them in a great deal more than their Value; and that I had been very ſafe. This was the [117] firſt Diſcouragement I met with, and the Forerunner of a great many others.

The River of the *Illinois* is very near as deep and broad as the *Meuſe* and *Sambre* before *Namur;* but we found ſome Places where 'tis about a quarter of a League broad. The Banks of the River are not even, but interrupted with Hills, diſpos'd almoſt at an equal diſtance, and cover'd with fine Trees. The Valley between them is a Marſhey Ground, which is overflow'd after great Rains, eſpecially in the Autumn and the Spring. We had the Curioſity to go up one of thoſe Hills, from whence we diſcover'd vaſt Meadows, with Foreſts, ſuch as we had ſeen before we arriv'd at the Village of the *Illinois.* The River flows ſo ſoftly, that the Current is hardly perceptible, except when it ſwells: But it will carry at all times great Barques for above 100 Leagues; that is, from the ſaid Village to its Mouth. It runs directly to the South-weſt. On the 7th of *March* we met, within two Leagues from the River *Meſchaſipi*, a Nation of the Savages call'd *Tamaroa* or *Maroa*,[1] conſiſting of about 200 Families. They deſign'd to bring us along with them to their Village, which lies to the

[1] An Illinois tribe, settled at that time on the east side of the Mississippi, with another tribe called Kaoukia (whence the later name of the French town there established, Cahokia); that tribe was eventually absorbed by the Tamaroas.—Ed.

Weſt of *Meſchaſipi*, about ſeven Leagues from the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois;* but my Men follow'd my Advice, and wou'd not ſtop, in hopes to exchange their Commodities with more Advantage in a more remote Place. Our Reſolution was very good; for I don't queſtion but they would have robb'd us; for ſeeing we had ſome Arms, they thought we were going to carry them to their Enemies. They purſu'd us in their *Pyrogues* or Wooden-Canows; but ours being made of Bark of Birch-Trees, and conſequently ten times lighter than theirs, and better fram'd, we laught at their Endeavours, and got clear of them. They had ſent a Party of their Warriours to lie in Ambuſcade on a Neck of Land advancing into the River, where they thought we ſhould paſs that Evening or the next Morning; [118] but having diſcover'd ſome Smoak on that Point, we ſpoil'd their Deſign, and therefore croſs'd the River, and landed in a ſmall Iſland near the other ſide, where we lay all the Night, leaving our Canou in the Water, under the Guard of a little Dog; who doubtleſs wou'd have awak'd us, if any body had offer'd to come near him; as we expected the Savages might attempt it, ſwimming over in the Night; but no body came to diſturb us. Having thus avoided thoſe Savages, we came to the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, diſtant from their great Village about 100 Leagues, and 50 from Fort *Crevecœur*. It falls into the *Meſchaſipi* between 35 and 36 Degrees of Latitude, and within 120 or 130 Leagues from the Gulph of *Mexico*, according to our Conjecture, without including the

Turnings and Windings of the *Meſchaſipi*, from thence to the Sea.

The Angle between the two Rivers on the South-ſide, is a ſteep Rock of forty Foot high, and flat on the Top, and conſequently a fit Place to build a Fort; and on the other ſide of the River, the Ground appears blackiſh, from whence I judge that it would prove fertile, and afford two Crops every Year, for the ſubſiſtence of a Colony. The Soil looks as if it had been already manur'd.

The Ice which came down from the Source of the *Meſchaſipi*, ſtopp'd us in that Place till the 12th of *March*; for we were afraid of our Canou: But when we ſaw the Danger over, we continu'd our Courſe, ſounding the River, to know whether it was navigable. There are three ſmall Iſlands over-againſt the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, which ſtop the Trees and Pieces of Timber that come down the River; which by ſucceſſion of time, has form'd ſome Banks: But the Canals are deep enough for the greateſt Barques; and I judge that in the drieſt Summer, there is Water enough for flat-bottom-Boats.

[119] The *Meſchaſipi* runs to the South-South-Weſt, between two Ridges of Mountains, which follow the great Windings of the River. They are near the Banks, at the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, and are not very high; but in other Places, they are ſome Leagues diſtant; and the Meadows between the River and the Foot of thoſe Hills, are cover'd with an infinite number of wild Bulls. The

Country beyond thoſe Hills is ſo fine and pleaſant, that according to the Account I have had, one might juſtly call it the *Delight of America.*

The *Meſchaſipi* is in ſome places a League broad, and half a League where it is narroweſt. The Rapidity in its Current is ſomewhat abated, by a great number of Iſlands, cover'd with fine Trees interlac'd with Vines. It receives but two Rivers from the weſt Side, one whereof is call'd *Otontenta;* and the other diſcharges it ſelf into it near the Fall of St. *Anthony of Padoua*, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter[1]; But ſo many others run into the *Meſchaſipi* from the North, that it ſwells very much toward its Mouth.

I am reſolv'd to give here an Account of the Courſe of that River; which I have hither to conceal'd, for the Sake of M. *la Salle*, who wou'd aſcribe to himſelf alone the Glory, and the moſt ſecret Part of this Diſcovery. He was ſo fond of it, that he has expos'd to viſible danger ſeveral Perſons, that they might not publiſh what they had ſeen, and thereby prejudice his ſecret Deſigns.

[1] The Des Moines and Minnesota Rivers; and the Falls of St. Anthony, at the present Minneapolis, Minn.— ED.

[120] CHAP. XXXVII.

The Courſe of the River Meſchaſipi *from the Mouth of the River of the* Illinois, *to the Sea; which the Author did not think fit to publiſh in his* Louiſiana; *with an Account of the Reaſons he had to undertake that Diſcovery.*

THERE is no Man but remembers with Pleaſure the great Dangers he has eſcap'd; and I muſt confeſs, that when I call to mind the great Difficulties I was under at the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, and the Perils I was expos'd to in the Diſcovery of the Courſe of the *Meſchaſipi*, my Joy and Satisfaction cannot be expreſs'd. I was as good as ſure that M. *la Salle* wou'd ſlander me, and repreſent me to my Superiors as a wilful and obſtinate Man, if I preſum'd to go down the *Meſchaſipi* inſtead of going up to the *North*, as I was deſir'd, and as we had conſerted together; and therefore I was very loath to undertake it: But on the other Hand, I was expos'd to ſtarve, and threatned by my two Men, that if I oppos'd their Reſolution of going down the River, they would leave me a-ſhoar during the Night, and carry away the Canou where-ever they pleaſed; ſo that I thought it was reaſonable to prefer my own Preſervation to the Ambition of M. *la Salle;* and ſo I agreed to follow my

Men; who ſeeing me in that good Diſpoſition, promis'd that they would be faithful to me.[1]

We ſhook Hands, to ſeal theſe Promiſes; and after Prayers, imbark'd in our Canou the 8th of *March*, 1680. The Ice which came down from the North, gave us a great deal of trouble; but we were ſo careful, that our Canou receiv'd no hurt; and after ſix Hours rowing, we came to a River of a Nation call'd *Oſages*, who live toward the *Meſſorites*.[2] That [121] River comes from the Weſtward, and ſeems as big as the *Meſchaſipi;* but the Water is ſo muddy, that 'tis almoſt impoſſible to drink of it.

The *Iſſati*,[3] who inhabit toward the Source of the *Meſchaſipi*, make ſometimes Excurſions as far as the Place where I was then; and I underſtood afterwards from them, having learn'd their Language, that this River of the *Oſages* and *Meſſorites*, is form'd from ſeveral other Rivers, which ſpring from a Mountain about twelve Day's Journey from its Mouth. They told me farther, that from that Mountain

[1] Here begins Hennepin's pretended account of a voyage down the Mississippi, which, as Parkman (*La Salle*, pp. 225–230) and other writers claim, was largely adapted and expanded from Membré's account of his voyage with La Salle, as given in Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, beginning at p. 216 (see Shea's translation of that work, ii, pp. 163–184). In the *Louisiane* (p. 218), Hennepin distinctly states that he did not explore the lower Mississippi, being prevented from doing so by his captivity among the Sioux.— Ed.

[2] By early explorers, the Missouri was often called River of Osages, from that tribe of Indians; the name was afterward restricted to a tributary of the Missouri, the Osage River. The Missouris (Messorites) were a Siouan tribe, allied to the Iowas and Otoes, and then living on the river which bears their name.—Ed.

[3] The Isanti (now called Santee), a tribe of the Dakota confederacy, whose early home was on Spirit Lake, Minn.— Ed.

one might ſee the Sea, and now and then ſome great Ships; that the Banks of that River are inhabited by ſeveral Nations; and that they have abundance of wild Bulls and Beavers.

Tho' this River is very big, the *Meſchaſipi* does not viſibly ſwell by the acceſſion of it; but its Waters continue muddy to its Mouth, albeit ſeven other Rivers fall into it, which are near as big as the *Meſchaſipi*, and whoſe Waters are extraordinary clear.

We lay every Night in Iſlands, at leaſt if it were poſſible, for our greater Security; and as ſoon as we had roaſted or boyl'd our *Indian* Corn, we were very careful to put out our Fire; for in theſe Countries they ſmell Fire at two or three Leagues diſtance, according to the Wind. The Savages take a particular notice of it, to diſcover where their Enemies are, and endeavour to ſurprize them.

The 9th we continu'd our Voyage, and ſix Leagues from the River of the *Oſages*, diſcover'd on the South-ſide of the *Meſchaſipi*, a Village, which we thought to be inhabited by the *Tamaroa*, who had purſu'd us, as I have related. Seeing no body appear, we landed, and went into their Cabins, wherein we found *Indian* Corn, of which we took ſome Buſhels, leaving in lieu of it ſix Knives, and a ſmall quantity of little Glaſs-Beads. This was good luck for us; for we [122] durſt not leave the River, and go a hunting for fear of falling into the Hands of the Savages.

The next Day, being the Tenth of *March*, we came to a River within Forty Leagues of *Tamaroa;* near which, as the *Illinois* inform'd us, there is a Nation of Savages call'd

Ouadebache.[1] We remain'd there till the Fourteenth, becauſe one of our Men kill'd a wild Cow, as ſhe was ſwimming over the River, whoſe Fleſh we were oblig'd to dry with Smoak, to preſerve it from putrifying. Being thus provided with *Indian* Corn and Fleſh, we left that Place the Fourteenth, and ſaw nothing worth Obſervation. The Banks of the River are ſo muddy, and ſo full of Ruſhes and Reeds, that we had much ado to find a Place to go aſhore.

The Fifteenth we diſcover'd three Savages, who came from Hunting, or from ſome Expedition. As we were able to make head againſt them, we landed, and march'd up to them; whereupon they run away; but after ſome Signs, one return'd, and preſented us the *Calumet* of Peace, which we receiv'd; and the others came back. We did not underſtand a Word of what they ſaid; nor they, I ſuppoſe, what we told them: Tho' having nam'd them two or three different Nations, one anſwer'd three times *Chikacha*, or *Sikacha*, which was likely the Name of his Nation. They gave us ſome *Pelicans* they had kill'd with their Arrows; and we preſented them with part of our Meat. Our Canou being too little to take them in, they continu'd their way, making ſeveral Signs with their Hands, to follow them along the Shore; but we quickly loſt the Sight of them.

Two days after, we ſaw a great number of Savages near

[1] Evidently referring to the Ohio River, the lower part of which was then commonly known as the Ouabache. Shea regards this sentence as one of the evidences that Hennepin was not responsible for this interpolated matter regarding the lower Mississippi; he says (Hennepin's *Louisiana*, p. 345, *note* †): "Hennepin knew enough about the country not to make a nation called Ouadebache, as is done here."—Ed.

the River-ſide; and heard immediately after a certain Noiſe, as of a Drum; and as we came near the Shore, the Savages cry'd aloud *Saſacoueſt;* that is to ſay, *Who goes there?* as I have been inform'd.[1] We were unwilling to land; but they ſent us a *Pirogue* [123] or heavy Wooden Canou, made of the Trunk of a Tree, which they make hollow with Fire; and we diſcover'd amongſt them the three Savages we had met two Days before. We preſented our *Calumet* of Peace, which they receiv'd; but gave us to underſtand by Signs, that we muſt go to the *Akanſa;* for they repeated ſo often that Word, pointing at the Savages a-ſhore, that I believe this is the right Name of their Nation. We cou'd not avoid it; and as ſoon as we were landed, the three *Chikacha* took our Canou upon their Shoulders, and carry'd it to the Village. The Savages receiv'd us very kindly, and gave us a Cabin for our ſelves alone; and preſented us with Beans, *Indian* Corn, and Fleſh to eat. We made them alſo ſome Preſents of our *European* Commodities, which they admir'd: They put their Fingers upon their Mouth, eſpecially when they ſaw our Guns; and I think this way of expreſſing their Surprize, is common to all the Savages of the Northern *America.*

Theſe Savages are very different from thoſe of the North, who are commonly ſad, penſive, and ſevere; whereas thefe appear'd jovial, civil, and free. Their Youth are ſo modeſt,

[1] Also cited by Shea (*ut supra*, p. 346, *note* †) to prove that Hennepin did not write this account: "Sasacouest, that is to say war-cries (Le Clercq, ii, p. 235), and in the East, Chichiquois was a word adopted by the French, and is used by Membré. Hennepin must have known its meaning, and would not have made the blunder here committed."—Ed.

that they dare not ſpeak before Old Men, unleſs they are ask'd any Queſtion. I obſerved they have tame Poultry, as Hens, Turkey-Cocks, and Buſtards, which are as tame as our Geeſe. Their Trees began to ſhew their Fruit, as Peaches, and the like; which muſt be a great deal bigger than ours. Our Men lik'd very well the Manner of theſe People; and if they had found any Furrs and Skins to barter for their Commodities, they would have left me amongſt them; but I told them, that our Diſcovery was more important to them than their Trade; and advis'd them to hide their Commodities under-ground, which they might take again upon our return, and exchange them with the Savages of the North. They approv'd my Advice, and were [124] ſenſible that they ſhould prevent many Dangers; for Men are covetous in all Countries.

The Eighteenth we embark'd again, after having been entertain'd with Dancing and Feaſting; and carry'd away our Commodities, tho' the Savages were very loth to part with them; but having accepted our *Calumet* of Peace, they did not preſume to ſtop us by Force.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Continuation of our Voyage on the River Meſchaſipi.

AS we fell down the River, we look'd for a fit Place to hide our Commodities, and at laſt pitch'd upon one between two Eminences near a Wood. We took up the green Sodds, lay'd them by, and digg'd a Hole in the Earth, where we put our Goods, and cover'd them with Pieces of Timber and Earth, and then put on again the green Turf; ſo that 'twas impoſſible to ſuſpect that any Hole had been digg'd under it, for we flung the Earth into the River. We tore afterwards the Bark of three Oaks and of a large Cotton-tree, and ingrav'd thereon four Croſſes, that we might not miſs the Place at our Return. We embark'd again with all ſpeed, and paſt by another Village of Savages about ſix Leagues from *Akanſa*, and then landed at another two Leagues lower, where we were kindly entertain'd. Men, Women, and Children came to meet us; which makes me believe that the firſt *Akanſa* had given notice of our arrival, to all the Villages of their Nation. We made them ſome Preſents of little Value, which they thought very conſiderable. Preſents are the Symbols of Peace in all thoſe Countries.

The Twenty firſt thoſe Savages carry'd us in a *Pyrogue* to ſee a Nation farther off into the Country, [125] which they

call *Taenſa;* for they repeated often that Word, ſo that we could not but remember it. Thoſe Savages inhabit the Banks of a Lake form'd by the *Meſchaſipi;* but I had not time enough to make any particular Obſervation concerning ſeveral of the Villages which I ſaw.[1]

Theſe Savages receiv'd us with much more Ceremonies than the *Akanſa;* for their Chief came in great Solemnity to the Shore to meet us. He had a kind of a white Gown on, made of Cloth of Bark of Trees, which their Women ſpun[2]; and two Men carry'd before him a thin Plate of Copper, as ſhining as Gold. We preſented our *Calumet* of Peace, which he receiv'd with Joy and much Gravity. The Men, Women, and Children, who attended him, expreſs'd a great Reſpect for me, and kiſs'd the Sleeves of the *Habit of St. Francis;* which made me believe that they had ſeen ſome *Spaniſh Franciſcans* from *New Mexico*, it being uſual there to kiſs the *Habit of our Order:* But this is a meer Conjecture; tho' I obſerv'd they did not pay that Reſpect to the two Men that were with me.

The *Taenſa* conducted us into a fine Cabin of flat Ruſhes and ſhining Reeds,[3] and entertain'd us as well as their Country

[1] The Taensa tribe were located in what is now Tensas county, La., on the east side of the Mississippi. When Iberville visited them (1700), they had seven villages, grouped around a lake, probably Lake St. Joseph.—*Jes. Relations*, lxv, 267.

[2] Cloth was spun, by the women of Southern tribes, from the bark of the mulberry tree; see description of this process in Le Page du Pratz's *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758), ii, pp. 191–193. See also Holmes's "Prehistoric Textile Art," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891–92, pp. 3–46.—Ed.

[3] These "reeds" were obtained from the "canebrakes" of that region—a dense growth formed by the stems of *Arundinaria macrosperma*, a tall, woody grass, allied to the bamboo.—Ed.

could afford; and then Men and Women, who are half cover'd in that Country, danc'd together before us. Their way of Dancing is much more difficult than ours, but perhaps as pleaſant, were it not for their Muſick, which is very diſagreeable. Women repeat every Word the Men have ſung.

That Country is full of Palm-trees, wild Laurels, Plum-trees, Mulbery-trees, Peach-trees, Apple-trees, and Walnut-trees of five or ſix kinds, whoſe Nuts are a great deal bigger than ours. They have alſo ſeveral ſorts of Fruit-trees unknown in *Europe*, but I could not diſcern the Fruit, becauſe of the Seaſon of the Year.

[126] The Manners and Temper of that Nation is very different from that of the *Iroqueſe*, *Hurons*, and *Illinois*. Theſe are Civil, Eaſie, Tractable, and capable of Inſtructions; whereas the others are meer Brutes, as fierce and cruel as any wild Beaſts. We lay that Night in their Village, and were entertain'd as civilly as we could have wiſh'd for; and we did likewiſe our utmoſt to oblige them: We ſhew'd them the Effect of our Fire-Arms, and a Piſtol which ſhot four Bullets one after another, without needing to be new charg'd. Our Men took their beſt Cloth, which pleas'd them very much; and they ſeem'd well ſatisfy'd with us, as they expreſs'd by many Signs and Demonſtrations. They ſent overnight to the *Koroa*,[1] who are their Allies, to give them notice of our Arrival; and their Chief came next Morning in great

[1] This tribe were then living on the west side of the Mississippi, above Natchez; later, they wandered to the Yazoo River. They were finally merged in the Cha'htas (Choctaws).— Ed.

Ceremony to ſee us. They ſeem'd tranſported with Joy, and 'tis great pity we could not underſtand what they told us, to know what Opinion they entertain'd of us, and from what Part of the World they fanſied we came. I order'd my Men to ſquare a Tree, and having made a Croſs, we planted it near the Cabin where we lay.

The Twenty ſecond we left that obliging People, and the Chief of the *Koroa* attended us to his Village, which is ſituated about ten Leagues lower, upon the River, in a fertile Soil, which produces abundance of *Indian* Corn, and other things neceſſary for Life. We preſented them with three Axes, ſix Knives, ſeven Yards of good Tobacco, ſeveral Awls and Needles. They receiv'd our Preſents with great Shouts, and their Chief preſented us with a *Calumet* of Peace of red Marble, the Quill whereof was adorn'd with Feathers of five or ſix ſorts of Birds.

They gave us alſo a Noble Treat according to their own way, which I lik'd very well; and after we had din'd, the Chief of that Nation underſtanding by our Signs which way we were bound, took a Stick, and [127] made ſuch Demonſtrations, that we underſtood that we had not above ſeven Days Journey to the Sea, which he repreſented as a great Lake with large wooden Canou's. The next Day we prepar'd to continue our Voyage; but they made ſuch Signs to oblige us to ſtay a Day or two longer, that I was almoſt perſwaded to do it; but ſeeing the Weather ſo favourable for our Journey, we embark'd again. The Chief of that Nation, ſeeing we were reſolv'd to be gone, ſent ſeveral Men

in two *Pyrogues*, to attend us to the Mouth of the River with Proviſions; but when I ſaw that the three *Chikacha*, of whom I have ſpoken, follow'd us every where, I bid my Men to have care of them, and obſerve their Motions upon our landing, for fear of any Surprize. It was then *Eaſter*-day, which we kept with great Devotion, tho' we could not ſay Maſs for want of Wine; but we ſpent all the Day in Prayers in ſight of the Savages, who wonder'd much at it.

The *Meſchaſipi* divides it ſelf into two Channels, and thereby forms a large Iſland, which to our thinking was very long, and might be about ſixty Leagues broad. The *Koroa* oblig'd us to follow the Canal to the Weſtward, tho' the *Chikacha*, who were in their *Pyrogues*, endeavour'd to perſwade me to take the other: But as we had ſome ſuſpicion of them, we refus'd to follow their Advice; tho' I was afterwards convinc'd, that they deſign'd only to have the Honour to bring us to ſeveral Nations on the other Side of the River, whom we viſited in our return.

We loſt quickly the Company of our Savages; for the Stream being very rapid in this Place, they could not follow us in their *Pyrogues*, which are very heavy. We made that Day near forty Leagues, and landed in the Evening upon the Iſland, where we pitch'd our Cabin.

The Twenty fourth we continu'd our Voyage; and about five and thirty Leagues below the Place [128] we had lain, we diſcover'd two Fiſhermen, who immediately ran away. We heard ſome time after a great Cry, and the Noiſe of a Drum; but as we ſuſpected the *Chikacha*, we kept in the

middle of the River, rowing as faſt as we could. This was the Nation of *Quinipiſſa*,[1] as we underſtood ſince. We landed that Night in a Village belonging to the Nation of *Tangibao*, as we have been inform'd; but the Inhabitants had been ſurpriz'd by their Enemies, for we found ten of them murther'd in their Cabins; which oblig'd us to embark again, and croſs the River, where we landed, and having made a Fire, roaſted our *Indian* Corn.

The Twenty fifth we left the Place early in the Morning; and after having row'd the beſt part of the Day, came to a Point where the *Meſchaſipi* divides it ſelf into three Chanels: We took the middle one, which is very broad and deep. The Water began there to taſte brackiſh, but four Leagues lower it was as ſalt as the Sea. We rowed about four Leagues farther, and diſcover'd the Sea, which oblig'd us to go a-ſhore to the Eaſtward of the River.

[1] Also called, by some writers, Acolapissas; a Cha'hta band who had migrated to the region north of New Orleans; Hennepin may have confounded them with the Mugulashas and Bayagoulas, who dwelt in one village—"64 leagues from the sea," according to Iberville. See Shea's notes on this account, in his translation of Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, pp. 176, 177.—Ed.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Reaſons which oblig'd us to return towards the Source of the River Meſchaſipi, *without going any farther toward the Sea.*

MY two Men were very much afraid of the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, who inhabit to the Weſtward of this River; and they were perpetually telling me, that if they were taken, the *Spaniards* would never ſpare their Lives, or at leaſt give them the Liberty to return into *Europe*. I knew their Fears were not altogether unreaſonable; and therefore I reſolv'd to go no farther, tho' I had no reaſon to be [129] afraid for my ſelf, our Order being ſo numerous in *New Mexico*, that, on the contrary, I might expect to have had in that Country a peaceable and eaſie Life.

I don't pretend to be a Mathematician, but having learn'd to take the Elevation of the Pole, and make uſe of the Aſtrolabe, I might have made ſome exact Obſervations, had M. *la Salle* truſted me with that Inſtrument: However, I obſerv'd that the *Meſchaſipi* falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*, between the 27th and 28th Degrees of Latitude, where, as I believe, our Maps mark a River call'd *Rio Eſcondido*, the Hidden River. The *Magdalen* River[1] runs between this

[1] A name vaguely applied, on various early maps, to the Sabine, the San Antonio, and the Rio Grande.— Ed.

River and the Mines of *St. Barbe* that are in *New Mexico.*

The Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi* may be about thirty Leagues from *Rio Bravo*, ſixty from *Palmas*, and eighty or a hundred from *Rio Panuco*, the neareſt Habitation of the *Spaniards;* and according to theſe Obſervations, the Bay *di Spirito Sancto*[1] lies to the North-Eaſt of the *Meſchaſipi*, which from the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois* to the Sea, runs directly to the South, or South-Weſt, except in its Windings and Turnings, which are ſo great, that by our Computation there are about 340 Leagues from the River of the *Illinois* to the Sea, whereas there are not above 150 in a direct Line. The *Meſchaſipi* is very deep, without being interrupted by any Sands, ſo that the biggeſt Ships may come into it. Its Courſe from its Source to the Sea, may be 800 Leagues, including Windings and Turnings, as I ſhall obſerve anon, having travell'd from its Mouth to its Head.

My Men were very glad of this Diſcovery, and to have eſcap'd ſo many Dangers; but, on the other hand, they expreſs'd a great deal of diſſatisfaction to have been at ſuch trouble, without making any Profit, having found no Furrs to exchange for their Commodities. They were ſo impatient to return, that they would never ſuffer me to build a Cabin upon [130] the Shoar, and continue there for ſome days, the better to obſerve where we were. They ſquar'd a Tree of twelve foot high, and made a Croſs thereof, which we erected

[1] The name first given by the Spaniards to Mobile Bay. Rio Bravo was an early name of the Rio Grande; Rio Palmas seems to correspond to the present Rio de San Fernando; and at the mouth of Rio Panuco is the city of Tampico, Mex.— Ed.

in that Place, leaving there a Letter ſign'd by me and my two Men, containing an Account of our Voyage, of our Country, and Profeſſion. We kneel'd then near the Croſs, and having ſung the *Vexilla Regis*, and ſome other Hymns, embark'd again on the firſt of *April* to return towards the Source of the River.

We ſaw no body while we continu'd there, and therefore cannot tell whether any Natives inhabit that Coaſt. We lay, during the time we remain'd a-ſhoar, under our Canou's, ſupported with four Forks; and the better to protect us againſt the Rain, we had ſome Rolls of Birch-Bark, wherewith we made a kind of Curtains about our Canou, hanging from the top down to the ground. 'Tis obſervable, that during the whole Courſe of our Sailing, God protected us againſt the Crocodiles, which are very numerous in that River, and eſpecially towards the Mouth: They look'd dreadful, and would have attack'd us, had we not been very careful to avoid them. We were very good Husbands of our *Indian* Corn; for the Banks of the River being full of Reeds, it was almoſt impoſſible to land to endeavour to kill ſome Beaſts for our Subſiſtence.

Our Canou being loaded only with three Men and our Proviſions, did not draw three Inches Water, and therefore we could row very near the Shoar, and avoid the Current of the River; and beſides, my Men had ſuch a deſire to return to the North, that that very day we came to *Tangibao;* but becauſe the Savages we had found murther'd in their Cabins, made us believe, that that Place was not ſafe, we continu'd

our Voyage all the Night long, after having ſupp'd, lighting a great Match to fright the Crocodiles away for they fear nothing ſo much as Fire.

[131] The next day, *April* 2. we ſaw towards break of Day a great Smoak not far from us, and a little while after we diſcover'd four Savage Women loaded with Wood, and marching as faſt as they could to get to their Village before us; but we prov'd too nimble for them at firſt. However, ſome Buſtards coming near us, one of my Men could not forbear to ſhoot at them; which ſo much frighted theſe Women, that they left their Load of Wood, and run away to their Village, where they arriv'd before us. The Savages having heard the Noiſe, were in as great fear as their Wives, and left the Village upon our approach; but I landed immediately, and advanc'd alone with the *Calumet* of Peace; whereupon they return'd, and receiv'd us with all the Reſpect and Civility imaginable. They brought us into a great Cabin, and gave us ſeveral things to eat, ſending notice in the mean time to their Allies, that we were arriv'd there; ſo that a great number of People crowded about to ſee us. They admir'd our Guns, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, made us conceive they compar'd them to Thunder and Lightning; but ſeeing us ſhoot Birds at a great diſtance, they were ſo amaz'd that they could not ſpeak a word. Our Men were ſo kindly entertain'd, that had it not been for the Commodities they had hid under-ground, they would have remain'd amongſt that Nation; and truly it was chiefly to prevent any ſuch thing, that I order'd them to do it; judging from the

Civility of thoſe Savages, that they were like to be tempted to remain with them. This Nation call'd themſelves *Quinipiſſa*.

We made them ſome ſmall Preſents, to ſhew our Gratitude for their kind Entertainment, and left that Place, *April* 4. and row'd with ſuch diligence, that we arriv'd the ſame day at *Koroa*. That Nation was not frighted as at the firſt time, but receiv'd us with all imaginable Demonſtrations of Joy, carrying our [132] Canou upon their Shoulders in a triumphant manner, and twelve Men dancing before us with fine Feathers in their hands. The Women follow'd us with their Children, who held me by my Gown and Girdle, expreſſing much the ſame Kindneſs to my two Men. They conducted me in that manner to the Cabin they had prepar'd for us, made of fine Mats of painted Ruſhes, and adorn'd with white Coverings made of the Bark of Trees, ſpun as finely as our Linen-Cloth; and after we had refreſh'd our ſelves, with the Victuals they had prepar'd for us, they left us alone, to give us time to reſt our ſelves, which we did all the Night long. The next Morning I was ſurpriz'd to ſee their *Indian* Corn, which we left very green, grown already to Maturity; but I have learn'd ſince, that that Corn is ripe ſixty days after it is ſown. I obſerv'd there alſo another ſort of Corn; but for want of underſtanding their Language, I was not able to know its Uſe and Name.

CHAP. XL.

An Account of our Departure from Koroa, *to continue our Voyage.*

I LEFT *Koroa* the next day, *April* 5. with a deſign to viſit ſeveral Nations inhabiting the Coaſt of the *Meſchaſipi*, but my Men would never conſent thereunto, telling me that they had no Buſineſs there, and they were oblig'd to make all the haſte they could towards the North, to exchange their Commodities for Furrs. I told them, that the Publick Good was to be preferr'd to Private Intereſt; but I could not perſwade them to any ſuch thing; and they told me that every one ought to be free; that they were reſolv'd to go towards the Source of the River, but that I might remain amongſt thoſe Nations, if I thought fit. In ſhort, I found my ſelf oblig'd to ſubmit to [133] their Will, though they had receiv'd Orders to obey my Direction. We arriv'd the 7th in the Habitation of the *Taenſa's*, who had already been inform'd of our return from the Sea, and were prepar'd to receive us; having for that end ſent for their Allies inhabiting the inland Country to the Weſt-ward of the River. They us'd all poſſible endeavours to oblige us to remain with them, and offer'd us a great many things; but our Men would not ſtay one ſingle day; though I confeſs the Civility of that People, and the good Diſpoſition I obſerv'd in them, wou'd have

ſtopp'd me amongſt them, had I been provided with things neceſſary for the Function of my Miniſtry.

We parted the 8th, and the *Taenſa's* follow'd us ſeveral Leagues in their lighteſt *Pyrogues*, but were at laſt oblig'd to quit us, being not able to keep pace with our Canou. One of our Men ſhot three Wild-Ducks at once, which they admir'd above all things, it being impoſſible to do ſo with their Arrows. We gave them ſome Tobacco, and parted from them, our Men rowing with all their Strength, to let them ſee we had kept company with them out of meer Civility.

The 9th, we came to the Place where our Men had hidden their Commodities; but when my Men ſaw that the Savages had burnt the Trees which we had mark'd, they were ſo afraid, that they were near ſounding away, and did not doubt but their Goods were loſt. We went a-ſhoar; and while I was mending our Canou, they went to look for their Treaſure, which they found in good condition. They were ſo tranſported with Joy, that *Picard* came immediately to tell me that all was well. In the mean time, the *Akanſa's* having receiv'd advice of our Return, came down in great numbers along the River to meet us; and leſt they ſhould ſee our Men taking again their Goods from under the Ground, I advanced to meet them with the *Calumet* of Peace, and [134] ſtopt them to ſmoak, it being a ſacred Law amongſt them to ſmoak in ſuch a Juncture; and whoſoever would refuſe, muſt run the danger of being murther'd by the Savages, who have an extraordinary Veneration for the *Calumet*.

Whilſt I ſtopt them, my Men put their Commodities into their Canou, and came to take me into it. The Savages ſaw nothing of it, of which I was very glad; for though they were our own, perhaps they might claim part of them upon ſome Pretence or other. I made ſeveral ſigns upon the Sand, to make them apprehend what I thought; but with what Succeſs I don't know, for I could not underſtand a word of what they ſaid, their Language having no affinity with thoſe of their Neighbours I have convers'd withal, both ſince and after my Voyage to the Mouth of the *Meſchaſipi*.

I got into the Canou, and went by Water to the Village of the *Akanſa's*, while they went by Land; but our Men row'd ſo faſt, that they could hardly keep pace with us. One of them, who was a good Runner, arriv'd at the Village before us, and came to the Shoar with the Women and Children to receive us, which they did even with more Civility than they had expreſs'd the firſt time. Our Men ſuſpected that this was only to get our Commodities, which they admir'd; but they are certainly a good ſort of People; and inſtead of deſerving the Name of a Barbarous Nation, as the *Europeans* call all the Natives of *America*, I think they have more Humanity than many Natives of *Europe*, who pretend to be very civil and affable to Strangers.

It would be needleſs to give here an exact Account of the Feaſts and Dances that were made for our Entertainment, or of the Melancholy they expreſs'd upon our Departure. I muſt own, that I had much a-do to leave them, but my two Men would not give me leave to tarry a day, ſeeing theſe

Nations, having [135] had no Commerce with the *Europeans*, did not know the Value of Beavers Skins, or other Furrs, whereas they thought that the Savages inhabiting about the Source of the *Meſchaſipi*, might have been inform'd thereof by the Inhabitants of the Banks of the upper or Great Lake, which we found to be true, as we ſhall obſerve anon. We left the *Akanſa's* upon the 24th of *April*, having preſented them with ſeveral little Toys, which they receiv'd with an extraordinary Joy; and during ſixty Leagues, ſaw no Savage neither of the Nation of *Chikacha*, or *Meſſorite*, which made us believe they were gone a hunting with their Families, or elſe fled away, for fear of the Savages of *Tintonha*, that is to ſay, ſuch as inhabit the Meadows, who are their irreconcileable Enemies.

This made our Voyage the more eaſie, for our Men landed ſeveral times to kill ſome Fowl and other Game, with which the Banks of the *Meſchaſipi* are plentifully ſtock'd; however, before we came to the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, we diſcover'd ſeveral of the *Meſſorites*, who came down all along the River; but as they had no *Pyrogues* with them, we croſs'd to the other ſide; and to avoid any Surprize during the Night, we made no fire; and thereby the Savages could not diſcover whereabout we were; for doubtleſs they would have murther'd us, thinking we were their Enemies.

I had quite forgot to relate, that the *Illinois* had told us, that towards the Cape, which I have call'd in my Map St. *Anthony* near the Nation of the *Meſſorites*, there were ſome

Tritons, and other Sea-Monſters painted, which the boldeſt Men durſt not look upon, there being ſome Enchantment in their Faces. I thought this was a Story; but when we came near the Place they had mention'd, we ſaw inſtead of theſe Monſters, a Horſe and ſome other Beaſts painted upon the Rock with red Colours by the Savages.[1] The *Illinois* had told us likewiſe, that the Rock on which [136] theſe dreadful Monſters ſtood, was ſo ſteep that no Man could climb up to it; but had we not been afraid of the Savages more than of the Monſters, we had certainly got up to them. There is a common Tradition amongſt that People, That a great number of *Miami's* were drown'd in that Place, being purſu'd by the Savages of *Matſigamea*[2]; and ſince that time, the Savages going by the Rock, uſe to ſmoak, and offer Tobacco to thoſe Beaſts, to appeaſe, as they ſay, the *Manitou*, that is, in the Language of the *Algonquins* and *Accadians*,[3] an evil Spirit, which the *Iroqueſe* call *Otkon;* but the Name is the only thing they know of him.

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[1] These painted figures are described by Marquette (*Jes. Relations*, lix, pp. 139, 141; cf. 312), who saw them in 1673. The rock whereon they were depicted was "immediately above the city of Alton, Ill." (Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 59, *note* 1). Amos Stoddard saw them in 1812; but since then they have been effaced by time.— Ed.

[2] Or Mitchigamia; an Algonquian tribe living near the mouth of St. Francis River, in Arkansas, when visited by Marquette; later, they had migrated toward Kaskaskia, Ill., and were probably absorbed by the Kaskaskia tribe.— Ed.

[3] Referring to the Abenakis, the most numerous Indian tribe in Maine — a region which was long in dispute between the French and English, as belonging to Acadia, to which both nations laid claim.

Tobacco, as an article highly prized by the Indians, was frequently offered by them to the spirits whom they rudely worshipped, especially to those of the winds and waters.— Ed.

While I was at *Quebec*, I underſtood that M. *Jolliet*[1] had been upon the *Meſchaſipi*, and oblig'd to return without going down that River, becauſe of the Monſters I have ſpoken of, who had frighted him, as alſo becauſe he was afraid to be taken by the *Spaniards;* and having an Opportunity to know the Truth of that Story from M. *Jolliet* himſelf, with whom I had often travell'd upon the River St. *Lawrence*, I ask'd him whether he had been as far as the *Akanſa's?* That Gentleman anſwer'd me, That the *Outtaouats* had often ſpoke to him of thoſe Monſters; but that he had never gone farther than the *Hurons* and *Outtaouats*, with whom we had remain'd to exchange our *European* Commodities with their Furrs. He added, that the Savages had told him, that it was not ſafe to go down the River, becauſe of the *Spaniards.* But notwithſtanding this Report, I have found no-where upon that River any Mark, as Croſſes, and the like, that could perſuade me that the *Spaniards* had been there; and the Savages inhabiting the *Meſchaſipi* would not have expreſs'd ſuch Admiration as they did when they ſaw us, if they had ſeen any *Europeans* before. I'll examine this Queſtion more at large in my Second Volume.

[1] Louis Joliet, of Quebec, was sent by Frontenac to explore the Mississippi River; he was accompanied from Michillimackinac by the Jesuit Marquette. They followed the great river as far as the mouth of the Arkansas; then, fearing capture by the Spaniards, they returned to Michillimackinac. The voyage lasted from May 17 to the end of September in the year 1673.— ED.

[137] CHAP. XLI.

A particular Account of the River Meſchaſipi; *Of the Country thro' which it flows; and of the Mines of Copper, Lead, and Coals we diſcover'd in our Voyage.*

FROM thirty Leagues below *Maroa*, down to the Sea, the Banks of the *Meſchaſipi* are full of Reeds or Canes; but we obſerv'd about forty places, where one may land with great facility. The River overflows its Banks now and then; but the Inundation is not very conſiderable, becauſe of the little Hills which ſtop its Waters. The Country beyond thoſe Hills is the fineſt that ever I ſaw, it being a Plain, whoſe Bounds I don't know, adorn'd now and then with ſome Hills and Eminences cover'd with fine Trees, making the rareſt Proſpect in the World. The Banks of the ſmall Rivers flowing through the Plain, are planted with Trees, which look as if they had been diſpoſed into that curious Order by the Art of Men; and they are plentifully ſtock'd with Fiſh, as well as the *Meſchaſipi*. The Crocodiles are very dangerous upon this great River, as I have already obſerv'd; and they devour a Man if they can ſurprize him; but 'tis eaſie to avoid them, for they don't ſwim after Men, nor follow them a-ſhoar.

The Country affords all ſorts of Game, as Turkey-Cocks,

Partridges, Quails, Parrots, Wood-Cocks, Turtle-Doves, and Wood-Pidgeons; and abundance of wild Bulls, wild Goats, Stags, Beavers, Otters, Martins, and wild Cats: But as we approach'd nearer the Sea, we ſaw no Beavers. I deſign to give a particular Account of theſe Creatures in another place; in the mean time we ſhall take notice of two others, who are unknown in *Europe*.

[138] I have already mention'd a little Animal, like a Musk'd-Rat, that M. *la Salle* kill'd as we came from Fort *Miamis* to the *Illinois*, which deſerves a particular Deſcription. It looks like a Rat as to the Shape of its Body, but it is as big as a Cat: His Skin looks Silver-like, with ſome fair black Hair, which makes the Colour the more admirable. His Tail is without any Hair, as big as a Man's Finger, and about a Foot long, wherewith he hangs himſelf to the Boughs of Trees. That Creature has under the Belly a kind of a Bag, wherein they put their young ones when they are purſu'd; which is one of the moſt wonderful things of the World, and a clear Demonſtration of the Providence and Goodneſs of the Almighty, who takes ſo particular a Care of the meaneſt of his Creatures.

There is no fierce Beaſt in all that Country that dares attack Men; for the *Mechibichi*, the moſt terrible of all, and who devours all other Beaſts whatſoever, runs away upon the approach of a Savage. The Head of that Creature is very like that of the ſpotted Lynx, but ſomewhat bigger: his Body is long, and as large as a wild Goat, but his Legs are ſhorter; his Paws are like a Cat's-Foot; but the Claws are

ſo long and ſtrong, that no other Beaſt can reſiſt them. When they have kill'd any Beaſt, they eat part of it, and carry the reſt upon their Back, to hide it in the Woods; and I have been told that no other Beaſt dare meddle with it. Their Skin is much like that of a Lion, as well as their Tail; but their Head is much bigger.[1]

The Savages gave us to underſtand that to the Weſtward of their Habitation, there are ſome Beaſts who carry Men upon their Backs, and ſhew'd us the Hoof and part of the Leg of one, which was certainly the Hoof of a Horſe; and ſurely Horſes muſt not be utterly unknown in the Northern *America:* for then how cou'd the Savages have drawn [139] upon the Rock I have mention'd, the Figure of that Animal?

They have in that Country all ſorts of Trees we have in *Europe*, and a great many other unknown to us. There are the fineſt Cedars in the World; and another ſort of Tree, from which drops a moſt fragrant Gum, which in my opinion exceeds our beſt Perfumes.[2] The Cotton-Trees are of a prodigious height; the Savages make them hollow with Fire, to make their *Pyrogues* of them; and we have ſeen ſome of them all of a-piece, above an hundred Foot long. The Oak is ſo good, that I believe it exceeds ours for building Ships. I have obſerv'd that Hemp grows naturally in that Country, and that they make Tarr and Pitch toward the Sea-Coaſts;

[1] Apparently the panther, or catamount (*Felis concolor*). *Micipici* (*Mechibichi*) is an Algonkin word meaning "great lynx," and is a generic term for all large felines.— Ed.

[2] The sweet-gum tree (*Liquidambar styraciflua*).— Ed.

and as I don't queſtion but that there are ſome Iron-Mines, the Building of Men of War wou'd be very cheap in the River *Meſchaſipi*.

I took notice in my Deſcription of *Louiſiana*, that there are vaſt Meadows, which need not to be grubb'd up, but are ready for the Plow and Seed; and certainly the Soil muſt be very fruitful, ſince Beans grow naturally, without any Culture. Their Stalks ſubſiſt ſeveral Years, bearing Fruit in the proper Seaſons: They are as big as one's Arm, and climb up the higheſt Trees, juſt as Ivy does. The Peach-Trees are like ours, and ſo fruitful, that they wou'd break if they were not ſupported. Their Foreſts are full of Mulberry-Trees and Plum-Trees, whoſe Fruit is bemusk'd. They have alſo plenty of Pomegranate-Trees and Cheſtnut-Trees: And 'tis obſervable, that all theſe Trees are cover'd with Vines, whoſe Grapes are very big and ſweet.

They have three or four Crops of *Indian* Corn in one Year; for they have no other Winter than ſome Rains. We had not time enough to look for Mines; but we found in ſeveral Places ſome Pit-Coal; and the Savages ſhew'd us great Mines of Lead and Copper. [140] They have alſo Quarries of Freeſtone; and of black, white, and Jaſper-like Marble, of which they make their *Calumets*.

Theſe Savages are good-natur'd Men, affable, civil, and obliging; but I deſign to make a particular Tract concerning their Manners, in my *Second Volume*. It ſeems they have no Sentiments of Religion; though one may judge from their

Actions that they have a kind of Veneration for the Sun, which they acknowledge, as it ſeems, for the Maker and Preſerver of all things.

When the *Nadoueſſians* and *Iſſati* take Tobacco, they look upon the Sun, which they call in their Language *Louis;* and as ſoon as they have lighted their Pipe, they preſent it to the Sun with theſe Words, *Tchendiouba Louis*, that is to ſay, *Smoak Sun;* which I took for a kind of Adoration. I was glad when I heard that this only *Deity* was call'd *Louis*, becauſe it was alſo my Name.[1] They call the Moon *Louis Baſatſche*, that is to ſay, *The Sun of the Night;* ſo that the Moon and Sun have the ſame Name, except that the Moon is diſtinguiſh'd by the Word *Baſatſche.*

They offer alſo to the Sun the beſt Part of the Beaſt they kill, which they carry to the Cabin of their Chief, who makes his Profit thereof, and mumbles ſome Words as it raiſes. They offer alſo the firſt Smoak of their *Calumets*, and then blow the Smoak towards the four Corners of the World. This is all I have obſerv'd concerning their Religion; which makes me believe that they have a religious Veneration for the Sun.

[1] The Yankton band of Sioux call the sun *oouee*, which, it is evident, represents the French pronunciation of *Louis*, omitting the initial letter. This Hennepin would be apt enough to supply, thereby conferring a compliment alike on himself and on Louis XIV, who, to the indignation of his brother monarchs, had chosen the sun as his emblem.—PARKMAN'S *La Salle*, p. 231, *note* 2.

[141] CHAP. XLII.

An Account of the various Languages of the Nations inhabiting the Banks of the Meſchaſipi; *of their Submiſſion to their Chief; of the Difference of their Manners from the Savages of* Canada; *and of the Difficulties, or rather Impoſſibilities attending their Converſion.*

'TIS very ſtrange that every Nation of the Savages of the Northern *America* ſhould have a peculiar Language; for though ſome of them live not ten Leagues one from another, they muſt uſe an Interpreter to talk together, there being no univerſal Language amongſt them; as one may call the *Lingua Franca*, which is underſtood upon all the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean-Sea;* or the *Latin* Tongue, common to all the Learned Men of *Europe.* However, thoſe who live ſo near one another, underſtand ſome Words us'd amongſt their Neighbours, but not well enough to treat together without an Interpreter; and therefore they us'd to ſend one of their Men to each of their Allies, to learn their Language, and remain with them as their Reſident, and take Care of their Concerns.

Theſe Savages differ from thoſe of *Canada* both in their Manners, Cuſtoms, Temper, Inclinations, and even in the

Shape of their Heads; thoſe of the *Meſchaſipi* having their Heads very flat. They have large Places in their Villages, where they meet together upon any publick Rejoicings; and where they have publick Games at certain Seaſons of the Year. They are lively and active, having nothing of that Moroſity and Penſiveneſs of the *Iroqueſe* and others. Their Chiefs have a more abſolute Authority than thoſe of the other Savages, which Power is very narrow; and thoſe who live the neareſt to the Mouth of the River, have ſuch a Deference for their [142] Chief, that they dare not paſs between him and a Flambeau, which is always carry'd before him in all Ceremonies. Theſe Chiefs have Servants and Officers to wait upon them: They diſtribute Rewards and Preſents as they think fit. In ſhort, they have amongſt them a Form of Political Government; and I muſt own they make a tolerable uſe of their Reaſon.

They were altogether ignorant of Fire-Arms, and all other Inſtruments and Tools of Iron and Steel, their Knives and Axes being made of Flint, and other ſharp Stones: And whereas we were told that the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* liv'd not above forty Leagues from them, and ſupply'd them with all the Tools, and other Commodities of *Europe;* we found nothing among them that might be ſuſpected to come from the *Europeans*, unleſs it be ſome little pieces of Glaſs ſtrung upon a Thread, with which their Women uſe to adorn their Heads. They wear Bracelets and Ear-Rings of fine Pearls, which they ſpoil, having nothing to boar them with, but with

Fire. They made us to underſtand that they have them in exchange for their *Calumets*, from ſome Nations inhabiting the Coaſt of the great Lake to the South-ward, which I take to be the *Gulph of Florida*.

I'll ſay nothing here, or at leaſt very little, concerning their Converſion, reſerving to diſcourſe fully upon that Subject, in another *Volume*, wherein I promiſe my ſelf to undeceive many People about the falſe Opinions they entertain on this Matter. Where-ever the Apoſtles appear'd, they converted ſo great a number of People, that the Goſpel was known and believ'd in a ſhort time, thro' moſt part of the then known World. But our Modern Miſſions are not attended with that Grace and Power, and therefore we are not to expect thoſe miraculous Converſions. I have imparted to them, as well as I cou'd, the chief and general Truths of the *Chriſtian Religion:* But, as [143] I have obſerv'd already, the Languages of thoſe Nations having little or no Affinity one with another, I cannot ſay that my Endeavours have been very ſucceſsful, tho' I learn'd the Language of the *Iſſati* or *Nadouſſians*, and underſtood indifferently well that of the *Illinois:* But the Truths of Chriſtianity are ſo ſublime, that I fear, neither my Words nor Signs and Actions have been able to give them an Idea of what I preach'd unto them. GOD alone, who knows the Hearts of Men, knows alſo what Succeſs my Endeavours have had. The Baptiſm I have adminiſter'd to ſeveral Children, of whoſe Death I was morally aſſur'd, is the only certain Fruit of my Miſſion. But

after all, I have only diſcover'd the Way for other Miſſionaries, and ſhall be ready at all times to return thither, thinking my ſelf very happy if I can ſpend the reſt of my Days in endeavouring my own and other Mens Salvation; and eſpecially in favour of thoſe poor Nations, who have been hitherto ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer. But leſt I ſhou'd tire the Reader, I reaſſume the Thread of my Diſcourſe.

CHAP. XLIII.

An Account of the Fiſhery of the Sturgeons; and of the Courſe we took, for fear of meeting ſome of our Men from Fort Crevecœur.

WE embarqu'd the Twenty fourth of *April*, as I have already ſaid; and our Proviſions being ſpent ſome Days after, we had nothing to live upon, but the Game we kill'd, or the Fiſh we cou'd catch. Stags, wild Goats, and even wild Bulls are pretty ſcarce toward the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois;* for this Nation comes as far as the *Meſchaſipi* to hunt them; but by good chance we found a great quantity [144] of Sturgeons, with *long Bills*, as we call'd them, from the ſhape of their Head.[1] It was then the Seaſon that theſe Fiſhes ſpawn; and they come as near the Shore as they can; ſo that we kill'd as many as we wou'd with our Axes and Swords, without ſpending our Powder and Shot. They were ſo numerous, that we took nothing but the Belly, and other dainty Parts, throwing off the reſt.

As we came near the Mouth of the River of the *Illinois*, my Men begun to be very afraid to meet with their Comrades of Fort *Crevecœur;* for having not yet exchang'd their Commodities, as they were order'd, and refus'd to go North-

[1] Probably the spade-fish (*Polyodon spatula*), described more fully by Marquette (*Jes. Relations*, lix, p. 111); and by Le Page du Pratz (*Hist. Louisiane*, ii, p. 154; see illustration at p. 152).—Ed.

ward at firſt, as I deſir'd them, they had great reaſon to fear that they wou'd ſtop them, and puniſh them for not having follow'd my Directions. I was likewiſe afraid that by theſe Means our Voyage towards the Sea wou'd be diſcover'd, (there being ſome Reaſons to keep it ſecret, as I ſhall obſerve in another place) and our farther Diſcovery ſtopt; and therefore to prevent any ſuch thing, I advis'd them to row all the Night, and to reſt our ſelves during the Day in the Iſlands, which are ſo numerous in that River. The Trees and Vines wherewith thoſe Iſlands are cover'd, are ſo thick, that one can hardly land; and ſo we might lie there very ſafe, it being impoſſible to diſcover us. This Advice was approv'd, and thereby we avoided any Rencounter; for I did not doubt but our Men came now and then from Fort *Crevecœur*, to obſerve the *Meſchaſipi*, and get Intelligence of us. But when we found our ſelves pretty far from the River of the *Illinois*, we travell'd in the Day-time, as we uſed to do, in order to make our Obſervations, and view the Country; which does not appear ſo fertil, nor cover'd with ſo fine Trees above the River of the *Illinois*, as it is below, down the *Meſchaſipi* to the Sea.

[145] CHAP. XLIV.

A ſhort Account of the Rivers that fall into the Meſchaſipi; *of the Lake of Tears; of the Fall of* St. Anthony; *of the wild Oats of that Country; and ſeveral other Circumſtances of our Voyage.*

NO Rivers, as I have already ſaid, run into the *Meſchaſipi* between the River of the *Illinois* and the Fall of St. *Anthony*, from the Weſtward, but the River *Ottenta*, and another which diſcharges it ſelf into it within eight Leagues of the ſaid Fall: But on the Eaſtward we met with a pretty large River, call'd *Ouiſconſin*, or *Miſconſin* [Wisconsin], which comes from the Northward. This River is near as large as that of the *Illinois;* but I cannot give an exact Account of the length of its Courſe, for we left it about ſixty Leagues from its Mouth, to make a *Portage* into another River, which runs into the Bay of *Puans*, as I ſhall obſerve when I come to ſpeak of our return from *Iſſati* into *Canada*. This River *Ouiſconſin* runs into the *Meſchaſipi* about an hundred Leagues above that of the *Illinois*.

Within five and twenty Leagues after, we met another River coming from the Eaſtward, nam'd by the *Iſſati* and *Nadouſſians*, *Chebadeba*, that is, *The Black River*. I can ſay very little of it, having obſerv'd only its Mouth; but I judge

from that, that it is not very conſiderable. About thirty Leagues higher we found the Lake of *Tears*, which we nam'd ſo becauſe the Savages, who took us, as it will be hereafter related, conſulted in this Place what they ſhould do with their Priſoners; and thoſe who were for murthering us, cry'd all the Night upon us, to oblige, by their Tears, their Companions to conſent to our Death. This Lake is form'd by the *Meſchaſipi*, and may be [146] ſeven Leagues long, and five broad. Its Waters are almoſt ſtagnant, the Stream being hardly perceptible in the middle.[1] We met, within a League above the Lake, another River, call'd, *The River of the Wild Bulls*,[2] becauſe of the great number of thoſe Beaſts grazing upon its Banks. It falls with a great rapidity into the *Meſchaſipi;* but ſome Leagues above its Mouth, the Stream is very gentle and moderate. There is an infinite number of large Tortoiſes in that River, which are very reliſhing. A Row of Mountains fence its Banks in ſome places.

There is another River, which falls forty Leagues above this laſt, into the *Meſchaſipi;* thro' which one may go into the Upper Lake, by making a *Portage* from it into the River *Niſſipikouet*, which runs into the ſame Lake.[3] It is full of Rocks and rapid Streams. We nam'd it *The River of the Grave*, or *Mauſolæum*, becauſe the Savages bury'd there one of their Men, who was bitten by a Rattle-Snake. They us'd

[1] Lake Pepin, lying between Wisconsin and Minnesota.— Ed.

[2] The present Buffalo River, Wisconsin.— Ed.

[3] Apparently the St. Croix and Bois Brulé Rivers, long an important fur-trade route between the Mississippi and Lake Superior.— Ed.

great Ceremonies in his Funeral, which I ſhall deſcribe in another place; and I put upon his Corps a white Covering; for which the Savages return'd me their publick Thanks, and made a great Feaſt, to which above an hundred Men were invited.

The Navigation of the *Meſchaſipi* is interrupted ten Leagues above this River of the *Grave*, by a Fall of fifty or ſixty Foot, which we call'd *The Fall of St. Anthony of Padua*, whom we had taken for the Protector of our Diſcovery. There is a Rock of a Pyramidal Figure, juſt in the middle of the Fall of the River.

The Row of Mountains fencing the Banks of the *Meſchaſipi*, ends at the Mouth of the River of *Ouiſconſin;* and there we likewiſe obſerv'd, that that River, which runs from thence to the Sea almoſt directly North and South, runs then from the Weſtward or the North-Weſt. The Misfortune we had of being taken Priſoners, hindred us from going as far as its [147] Source, which we cou'd never learn from the Savages, who told us only, that about twenty or thirty Leagues above the Fall of St. *Anthony*, there is another Fall; near which a Nation of Savages inhabit at certain Seaſons of the Year. They call thoſe Nations *Tintonha*, that is, *The Inhabitants of the Meadows.*

Eight Leagues above the Fall of St. *Anthony*, we met with the River of the *Iſſati* or *Nadouſſians*, which is very narrow at the Mouth. It comes out from the Lake of the *Iſſati*, lying about ſeventy Leagues from its Mouth. We call'd this

River *The River of St. Francis*[1]; and it was in this Place that we were made Slaves by the *Iſſati*.

The Courſe of the *Meſchaſipi*, according to our beſt Computation, is about Eight hundred Leagues long, from *Tintonha* to the Sea, including its Windings and Turnings; which are very great, and may be navigable from the Fall of St. *Anthony*, for flat-bottom'd Boats, provided the Iſlands were clear'd from Trees, and eſpecially from Vines; which having ty'd the Trees together, wou'd ſtop a Boat in many Places.

The Country about the Lake *Iſſati* is a Marſhy Ground, wherein grows abundance of wild Oats, which grow without any Culture or Sowing, in Lakes, provided they are not above three Foot deep. That Corn is ſomewhat like our Oats, but much better; and its Stalks are a great deal longer when it is ripe.[2] The Savages gather it, and live thereupon ſeveral Months of the Year, making a kind of Broath thereof. The Savage Women are oblig'd to tie ſeveral Stalks together with White Bark of Trees, to fright away the Ducks, Teals, or Swans, which otherwiſe wou'd ſpoil it before it be ripe.

This Lake of *Iſſati* lies within ſixty Leagues to the Weſtward of the Upper Lake; but 'tis impoſſible to travel by Land from one to the other, unleſs it be in [148] a hard Froſt, becauſe of the Marſhy Grounds, which otherwiſe ſink under a Man; but, as I have already ſaid, they may uſe their

[1] Rum River, the outlet of the lake known as Mille Lacs.— ED.

[2] The wild rice, *Zizania aquatica*. For full information regarding this grain and its use as food, see A. E. Jenks's excellent monograph, "Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," in 19th *Annual Report* of U. S. Bureau of Ethnology.— ED.

Canou's, tho' it be very troubleſom, becauſe of the many *Portages*, and the length of the Way, which, by Reaſon of the Windings of the River, is about a hundred and fifty Leagues. The ſhorteſt way is by the River of the *Grave* [St. Croix], thro' which we went in our return. We found nothing but the Bones of the Savage we had bury'd there, the Bears having pull'd out with their Paws the great Stakes the Savages had beat deep into the Ground round about the Corps; which is their uſual Way of Burying their Dead. We found near the Grave a *Calumet* or Pipe of War, and a Pot, in which the Savages had left ſome fat Meat of Wild Bulls, for the Uſe of their dead Friend, during his Voyage into the Country of *Souls;* which ſheweth that they believe their Immortality.

There are many other Lakes near the River *Iſſati*, from which ſeveral Rivers ſpring. The Banks of thoſe Rivers are inhabited by the *Iſſati*, the *Nadouſſians*, the *Tintonha* or *Inhabitants of Meadows*, the *Ouadebathon* or *Men of Rivers*, the *Chongasketon* or *Nation of the Wolf* or *the Dog*, for *Chonga* ſignifies either of theſe Creatures. There are alſo ſeveral other Nations, which we include under the general Denomination of *Nadouſſians*.[1] Theſe Savages may bring into the

[1] For information regarding the history, organization, customs, and present status of the Siouan tribes, see the *Reports* of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, especially that for 1885–86 (Powell's "Indian Linguistic Families"), and for 1893–94 (McGee's "Siouan Indians," and Dorsey's "Siouan Sociology"); Riggs's "Dakota Grammar," etc., vol. ix of *U. S. Geog. and Geol. Survey of Rocky Mountain Region* (Washington, 1893); and Neill's *Hist. Minnesota*, and *Dahkotah Land* (Phila., 1859).—Ed.

Field eight or nine thouſand Men: They are Brave, Bold, great Runners, and good Markſmen with their Arrows. It was a Party of theſe Savages that took us Priſoners, and carry'd us to the *Iſſati*, as I am going to relate in the following Chapter.

[149] CHAP. XLV.

The Author and his Canou-Men are taken by the Savages, who, after ſeveral Attempts upon their Lives, carry them away with them into their Country above the River Meſchaſipi.

WE uſed to go to Prayers thrice a Day, as I have elſewhere obſerv'd; and my conſtant Requeſt to God was, That when we ſhou'd firſt meet the Savages, it might happen to be by Day. Their Cuſtom is, to kill as Enemies all they meet by Night, to enrich themſelves with their Spoils, which are nothing but a parcel of Hatchets, Knives, and ſuch like Trifles; which yet they value more than we do Gold or Silver. They make no ſcruple to aſſaſſinate even their own Allies, when they think they can handſomly conceal the Murder; for by ſuch Exploits it is they hope to gain the Reputation of being great Soldiers, and to paſs for Men of Courage and Reſolution.

'Twas with a great deal of Satisfaction that we ſurvey'd the Pleaſures of the River *Meſchaſipi*, all along our Paſſage up it, which had been ſince the firſt of *April*. Nothing as yet had interrupted our Obſervations, whether it were navigable above or below. In our way we kill'd ſeven or eight Buſtards or Wild Turkeys, which in theſe Countries encreaſe mightily, as well as all other Wild Creatures. We had alſo

plenty of Bulls, Deers, Caſtors [Beavers], Fiſh, and Bears Fleſh; which laſt we kill'd as they were ſwimming over the River.

And here I cannot forbear ſeriouſly reflecting on that ſecret Pleaſure and Satisfaction of Mind, which is to be found in Prayer, and the real Advantages which may be drawn from thence, when I conſider how [150] effectually my own were heard: For the ſame Day, being the Twelfth of *April*, as our two Men were boiling one of the Buſtards, and my ſelf refitting our Canou on the Banks of the River, I perceiv'd all of a ſudden, about Two in the Afternoon, no leſs than fifty Canou's, which were made of Bark, and mann'd with a hundred and twenty Savages, who were ſtark naked, and came down the River with an extraordinary Swiftneſs, to ſurprize the *Miami's*, *Illinois*, and *Marohans* [Tamaroas], their Enemies.

We threw away the Broath which was a preparing, and getting aboard as faſt as we cou'd, made towards them, crying out thrice, *Miſtigouche* and *Diatchez*, which in the Language of the *Iroqueſe* and *Algonquins*, is as much as to ſay, *Comrades, we are Men of Wooden Canou's;* for ſo they call thoſe that ſail in great Veſſels. This had no effect, for the Barbarians underſtood not what we ſaid; ſo that they ſurrounded us immediately, and began to let fly their Arrows at a diſtance, till the Eldeſt amongſt them perceiving that I had a *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace in my hand, came up to us, and prevented our being murdered by their Warriours.

Theſe Men who are more brutal than thoſe of the lower

River, fell a jumping out of their Canou's, ſome upon Land, others into the Water; ſurrounding us on all Sides with Shrieks and Out-cries that were indeed very terrifying. 'Twas to no purpoſe to reſiſt, being but three to ſo great a number. One of them ſnatch'd the Pipe of Peace out of my Hand, as our Canou and theirs were faſtned together on the Bank of the River. We preſented them with ſome ſmall Pieces of *Martinico* Tobacco, becauſe it was better than what they had. As they receiv'd it, the Elders of them cry'd out *Miahima*, *Miahima;* but what they meant by it, we knew not. However, we made Signs with our Oars upon the Sand, that the *Miami's* their Enemies, whom they were in ſearch of, had [151] paſs'd the River, and were upon their Flight to join the *Illinois*.

When they ſaw themſelves diſcover'd, and conſequently out of all hopes of ſurprizing their Enemies, three or four of the eldeſt of them laid their hands on my Head, and began to weep bitterly, accompanying their Tears with ſuch mournful Accents as can hardly be expreſs'd; till with a ſorry Handkerchief of *Armenian* Cloth, which I had left, I made a Shift to dry up their Tears: However, to very little purpoſe; for refuſing to ſmoak in our *Calumet* or Pipe of Peace, they thereby gave us to underſtand, that their deſign was ſtill to murder us. Hereupon with an horrid Out-cry, which they ſet up all at once, to make it yet the more terrible, they hurry'd us croſs the River, forcing us to redouble the Stroaks of our Oar, to make the more ſpeed; and entertaining us all the while with ſuch diſmal Howlings, as were

capable of ſtriking Terrour into the moſt reſolute and daring Souls. Being come a-ſhoar on the other ſide, we unloaded our Canou, and landed our Things, part of which they had robb'd us of already. Some time after our Landing, we made a fire a ſecond time, to make an end of boiling our Buſtard. Two others we preſented the Barbarians, who having conſulted together what they ſhould do with us, two of their Leaders came up to us, and made us to underſtand by Signs, that their Warriours were reſolv'd upon our Death. This oblig'd me, whilſt one of our Canou-Men look'd after our Things, to go with the other, and apply my ſelf to their Chiefs. Six Hatchets, fifteen Knives, ſome pieces of Tobacco, was the Preſent that I made them. After which, bending my Neck, and pointing to a Hatchet, I ſignifi'd to them by that Submiſſion, that we threw our ſelves on their Mercy.

The Preſent had the good effect to ſoften ſome of them, who, according to their Cuſtom, gave us [152] ſome Fleſh of Beaver to eat, themſelves putting the three firſt Bits in our Mouths; having firſt blown upon it, becauſe the Meat was hot. After this they ſet their Platter before us, which was made of the Bark of a Tree, leaving us at liberty to feed after our own faſhion. Theſe Civilities did not hinder us from paſſing the Night very uneaſily, becauſe in the Evening before they went to ſleep, they had return'd us our *Calumet* of Peace. The two Canou-Men reſolv'd to ſell their Lives as dear as they could, and to defend themſelves like Men to the laſt, in caſe they ſhou'd attack us. For my part, I told

them I reſolv'd to ſuffer my ſelf to be ſlain without the leaſt Reſiſtance, in Imitation of our Saviour, who reſign'd himſelf up voluntarily into the hand of his Executioner. However, we watch'd all Night by turns, that we might not be ſurpriz'd in our Sleep.

CHAP. XLVI.

The Reſolution which the Barbarians took to carry the Author and his two Men along with them up into their Country, above the River Meſchaſipi.

THE 13th of *April*, very early in the Morning, one of their Captains, whoſe Name was *Narrhetoba*, being one of thoſe who had been for killing us, and whoſe Body was painted all over, came and demanded my Pipe of Peace. It being deliver'd him, he fill'd it with Tobacco of their own growth, and made thoſe of his own Band ſmoak in it firſt; then all the reſt that had been for putting us to death. After this he made Signs, that we muſt go with them into their Country, whither they were then about to return. This Propoſal did not ſtartle me much, for having caus'd the Enterprize which they had [153] fram'd againſt their Enemies to miſcarry, I was not unwilling to embrace any opportunity of making farther Diſcoveries amongſt theſe barbarous Nations.

That which perplex'd me moſt, was the Difficulty I had of ſaying my Office, and performing the reſt of my Devotions, in the preſence of theſe Wretches. Many of them obſerving my Lips to move, told me in a harſh and ſevere Tone, *Ouackanche;* from whence, becauſe we underſtood not a word of their Language, we concluded them to be very angry.

Michael Ako, one of the Canou-Men, told me with a frightful Air, that if I continu'd to ſay my Breviary, we ſhould infallibly be murther'd by them. *Picard du Gay* deſir'd me at leaſt to ſay my Prayers in private, for fear of enraging them too far. The laſt Advice ſeem'd the beſt; but the more I endeavour'd to conceal my ſelf, the more of them had I at my Heels. If at any time I retir'd into the Woods, they immediately concluded 'twas to hide ſomething: So that I knew not which way to turn me for the performance of my Duty; for they would never ſuffer me a moment out of their Sight.

This compell'd me at laſt to acquaint the two Canou-Men, that I cou'd no longer diſpenſe with my ſelf in omitting the Duty of my Office: That if they ſhou'd murder us on this Account, I ſhou'd indeed be the innocent Cauſe of their Death as well as my own; that therefore I ran the ſame Riſque as they, but that no Danger was great enough to juſtifie me in the diſpenſing with my Duty. In fine, the Barbarians underſtood by the Word *Ouackanche*, that the Book in which I read, was an evil Spirit, as I afterwards underſtood by being amongſt them. However, I then knew by their Geſtures, that they had an averſion for it. Wherefore to uſe them to it by degrees, I was wont to ſing the Litanies, as we were upon the Way, holding the Book in my Hand. They [154] fondly believ'd my Breviary was a Spirit, which taught me to ſing thus for their Diverſion. All theſe People naturally love Singing.

CHAP. XLVII.

The many Outrages done us by the Savages, before we arriv'd in their Country. They frequently deſign againſt our Lives.

THE many Outrages which were done us by theſe Barbarians, through the whole Courſe of our Voyage, are not to be imagin'd. Our Canou was both bigger and heavier laden than theirs. They ſeldom carry any thing but a Quiver full of Arrows, a Bow, and ſome ſorry Skin or other, which uſually ſerves two of them for a Coverlet. The Nights were ſharp as yet for the Seaſon, by reaſon of our advancing ſtill Northwards; ſo that at Night 'twas neceſſary to keep our ſelves as warm as we could.

Our Conductors obſerving that we did not make ſo much way as themſelves, order'd three of their Warriours to go aboard us. One ſeated himſelf on my Left, the other two behind the Men, to help them to row, that we might make the more haſte. The Barbarians ſometimes row no leſs than thirty Leagues a day, when they are in haſte to take the Field, and deſign to ſurprize their Enemies. Thoſe who took us were of divers Villages, and as much divided in their Sentiments, in regard of us. Every Evening 'twas our peculiar Care to plant our Cabin near the young Chief, who had

taken Tobacco in our Pipe of Peace; ſignifying to him thereby, that we put our ſelves under his Protection.

This we did, by reaſon of the Diviſions which reign'd amongſt the Savages. *Aquipaguetin*, one of their Chiefs, who had a Son kill'd by the *Miami's*, [155] finding he could not revenge himſelf of that Nation, thought of venting his Paſſion upon us. Every Night would he bewail his Son, whom he had loſt in the War, thinking thereby to ſtir up thoſe of his Band to revenge his Death, by killing us, ſeizing our Effects, and after that purſuing the *Miami's*. But the other Savages, who were very fond of *European* Commodities, thought it more adviſeable to protect us, that other *Europeans* might be encourag'd to come amongſt them. They chiefly deſir'd Guns, upon which they ſet the higheſt Value, having ſeen the uſe of them upon one of our Canou-Men's killing three or four Buſtards or wild Turkies, at one ſingle Diſcharge of his Fuſil; whereas they could not kill above one at a time with their Bows.

We have underſtood by them ſince, that the Words *Manza Ouackanche* ſignifie *Iron poſſeſs'd by an Evil Spirit.* So they call the Fuſil, which breaks a Man's Bones; whereas their Arrows glide only between the Fleſh and the Muſcles, which they pierce without breaking the Bone at all, or very ſeldom at leaſt. For which reaſon it is, that theſe People do much eaſier cure the Wounds which are made by the Arrow or Dart, than thoſe of the Fuſil.

When we were firſt taken by the Barbarians, we were got about an hundred and fifty Leagues up the River, from that

of the *Illinois*. We row'd afterwards in their Company for nineteen Days together, ſometimes North, ſometimes North-Eaſt, as we judg'd by the Quarters from whence the Wind blew, and according to the beſt Obſervations we cou'd make by our Compaſs. So that after theſe Barbarians had forc'd us to follow them, we made more than two hundred and fifty Leagues upon that ſame River. The Savages are of an extraordinary Force in a Canou. They'll row from Morning to Night without reſting, or hardly allowing themſelves ſo much time as to eat their Victuals.

[156] To oblige us to follow them the faſter, there were uſually four or five of their Men a-board us; for our Canou was larger, and deeper loaden than theirs, ſo that we had need of their Aſſiſtance, to be able to keep 'em company. When it rain'd, we ſet up our Tilts; but when 'twas fair, the Heavens were our Canopy. By this means we had leiſure to take our Obſervations from the Moon and the Stars when it was clear. Notwithſtanding the fatigue of the Day, the youngeſt of the Warriours went at Night and danc'd the *Reed*[1] before four or five of their Captains till Midnight. The Captain to whoſe Quarter they went, ſent with a deal of Ceremony to thoſe that danc'd, a Warriour of his own Family, to make them ſmoak one after another in his own *Reed* of War, which is diſtinguiſh'd from that of Peace by its Feathers.

This ſort of Ceremony is always concluded by the two

[1] Calumet (reed) dance. Thus termed because the stem of the pipe, or calumet, was made from a hollow reed.— Ed.

Youngeſt of thoſe who have had any Relations kill'd in the Wars. Theſe take ſeveral Arrows, and laying them a-croſs at the point, preſent them in that manner to their Captains, weeping very bitterly; who, notwithſtanding the exceſs of their Sorrow, return them back to be kiſs'd. In ſhort, neither the Fatigues of the Day, nor Watchings, are ſufficient to prevail with the Elders ſo much as to ſhut their Eyes, moſt of them watching till almoſt Break of Day, for fear of being ſurpriz'd by their Enemies. As ſoon as the Morning appears, one of them ſets up the ordinary Cry, when in a moment the Warriours are all in their Canou's. Some are ſent to encompaſs the Iſlands, and to ſee what Game they can meet with; whilſt others that are more ſwift, go by Land to diſcover by the Smoak the Place where the Enemies lie.

[157] CHAP. XLVIII.

The Advantages which the Savages of the North have over thoſe of the South, in relation to the War: As alſo the Ceremony which was perform'd by one of our Captains, having caus'd us to halt at Noon.

WHEN the Savages of the North are at War, 'tis their Cuſtom to poſt themſelves upon the point of ſome one of thoſe many Iſlands, of which this River is full, where they look upon themſelves to be always ſafe. Thoſe of the South, who are their Enemies, having nothing but *Pyrogues*, or Canou's of Wood, with which they cannot go very faſt, becauſe of their weight. None but the Northern Nations have Birch to make Canou's of their Bark. The People of the South are depriv'd of this Advantage, whereas thoſe of the North can with an admirable facility paſs from Lake to Lake, and River to River, to attack their Enemy. Nay, when they are diſcover'd, they value it not, provided they have time to recover their Canou's; for 'tis impoſſible for thoſe who purſue them either by Land, or in the *Pyrogues*, to do it with any Succeſs.

As to what relates to Ambuſcades, no Nation in the World comes near thoſe Northern Savages, being patient of Hunger, and the utmoſt Severities of the Weather, beyond

belief. 'Tis their ſure Game; and they never fail being ſuccour'd by three or four of their Comrades, whenever their Enemies attack 'em. So that they always bring their Deſigns about this way, at leaſt, if not over power'd ſo by Numbers, as not to be able to recover their Canou's, and ſave themſelves by flight.

One of the nineteen Days of our moſt tireſome Voyage, a Captain call'd *Aquipaguetin*, who afterwards [158] adopted me for his Son, as we ſhall ſee anon, thought it adviſable to halt about Noon in a fine large Meadow, ſituate on the Weſt of the River *Meſchaſipi*. This Chief had kill'd a large fat Bear, to which he invited the principal Captains of the Warriours. After the Repaſt, theſe Savages having all of them certain Marks in the Face, and their Bodies painted with the Figure of ſome Beaſt, ſuch as every one fancy'd beſt, their Hair being alſo anointed with the Oil of Bears, and ſtuck all over with red and white Feathers, and their Heads cover'd with the Down of Birds, began to dance with their Hands all upon their Hip, and ſtriking the Soles of their Feet with that violence againſt the Earth, that the very Marks appear'd. During the Dance, one of the Sons of the Maſter of the Ceremonies, made 'em all ſmoak in the Pipe of War, himſelf ſhedding abundance of Tears during the whole Action. And the Father, who marſhall'd the whole melancholy Scene, accompany'd him with a Voice ſo lamentable and broken, with ſo many riſing Sighs, as were capable of melting the moſt obdurate Heart, bathing himſelf all the while in his Tears: Sometimes would he addreſs himſelf to

the Warriour, ſometimes to me, laying his Hands on my Head, as he did alſo on my Mens. Sometimes would he lift up his Eyes to Heaven, repeating the Word *Louis*, which in their Speech ſignifies the Sun, appealing to him for Juſtice on the Murderers of his Son, and hoping to engage his Followers to avenge his Death.

As for us, as far as we could judge, all this Grimace boded us no good: And indeed we afterwards underſtood, that this Barbarian meant nothing leſs than our Deſtruction by it, as well now as at other times. But finding the oppoſition he was like to meet with from the other Chiefs, who were of a contrary Opinion, he was content to ſuffer us to re-embark, reſolving however to make uſe of ſome other [159] Stratagem to get into his own Hands by little and little the reſt of our Things. To take them from us openly by force, tho' he eaſily could, he durſt not, for fear of thoſe of his own Nation, who for ſuch an Action would have accus'd him of a Baſeneſs of Spirit, which even the moſt barbarous diſdain.

CHAP. XLIX.

What Tricks and Artifices were us'd by Aquipaguetin *to cheat us handſomely of our Goods; with many other Accidents that hapned in our Voyage.*

BY what has been ſaid, it plainly appears that *Aquipaguetin* was a crafty deſigning Knave. He had with him the Bones of one of his deceas'd Friends, which he kept very choicely in the Skin of a Beaſt, adorn'd with ſeveral red and black Liſts of a Porcupine's. He would be from time to time aſſembling his Followers to make them ſmoak; and then would he ſend for us one after another, and oblige us to cover the Bones of their Deceas'd with ſome of our *European* Merchandiſe, in order to dry up the Tears which he had ſhed for him and his Son, who had been kill'd by the *Miami's*.

To appeaſe the crafty old Savage, we ſtrew'd on the Bones of the Deceas'd ſeveral Pieces of *Martinico*-Tobacco, Hatchets, Knives, Beads, and ſome Bracelets of black and white Porcelain. Thus you ſee how we were drain'd by ſuch Methods and Pretences, as we could not eaſily gainſay. He gave us to underſtand, That what he had thus demanded of us, was not for himſelf but the Dead, and to give the Warriours that he brought with him; and indeed he diſtributed amongſt them whatever he took from us. He would have

had us underſtood by this, That [160] as a Captain he would take nothing himſelf but what we ſhould freely preſent him with.

All this while we lay at the point of the *Lake of Tears;* we nam'd it ſo by reaſon of the Tears which this Chief did ſhed here every Night. When he was weary of Weeping, he made one of his Sons come and ſupply his Place. His Deſign in this was to excite the Compaſſion of the Warriors, and to prevail with them to kill us, and after that to purſue their Enemies; and ſo revenge the Death of his Son which he had loſt.

Sometimes they ſent the ſwifteſt amongſt them by Land to ſeek for prey, who would drive whole Droves of wild Bulls before them, and force them to ſwim the River. Of theſe they ſometimes kill'd forty or fifty, but took only the Tongues, and ſome other of the beſt Pieces: The reſt they left, not to burden themſelves, that they might make the more haſte home.

'Tis true, we had Proviſions plenty and good; but then we had neither Bread nor Wine, nor Salt, nor indeed any thing elſe to ſeaſon it; and this laſted during the Four laſt Years of the almoſt Twelve that I liv'd in *America.* In our laſt Voyage, we liv'd much after the ſame manner, ſometimes abounding, and at other times again reduc'd to the laſt Extremity; ſo that we have not eat a bit for four and twenty hours together, and ſometimes longer. The reaſon is, becauſe in ſmall Canou's of Bark, one can ſtow but little: So that whatever Precaution a Man may uſe, he will often find himſelf

deſtitute of all things neceſſary for Life. Did the Religious of *Europe* undergo half the Fatigues, or did they but obſerve the Faſts that we have kept for ſo long a time together in *America*, there would need no Proofs to Canonize them. But then it muſt be own'd, that what deſtroys the Merits of our Faſts, was, that if we did ſuffer on ſuch occaſions, our Sufferings proceeded [161] not from our Choice; but, as the proverbial Saying is, our Virtue was our Neceſſity.

CHAP. L.

The Elders weep for us during the Night. New Outrages done us by Aquipaguetin. *The manner how the Savages make Fire by Friction.*

MANY Nights together ſome or other of the Elders came and wept over us. They rubb'd our Arms and Bodies very often with their Hands, which they afterwards laid on our Heads. Theſe Tears gave us many uneaſie Thoughts; 'twas impoſſible to ſleep for them; and yet we had need enough of Reſt, after the great Fatigues of the Day. Nor was I eaſier by Day: I knew not what to think; ſometimes I fanſied that they bewail'd us, as knowing ſome of the Warriors had reſolv'd to kill us; and other times again I flatter'd my ſelf, that their Tears were the effect of their Compaſſion, for the evil Treatment they made us undergo. However it were, I am ſure theſe Tears affected me more than thoſe that ſhed them.

About this time, *Aquipaguetin* had another opportunity of perſecuting us afreſh: He had ſo dexterouſly manag'd the Matter with the Warriors of his Party, that it was one Day impracticable for us to encamp near the young Chief *Narhetoba*, who protected us, but were forc'd to go and place

our ſelves, with our Canou and Effects at the end of the Camp. Then it was that theſe Barbarians gave us to underſtand, that the aforeſaid Captain was fully reſolv'd to have our Heads. This oblig'd us to have recourſe once more to our Cheſt, and to take out twenty Knives and ſome Tobacco, which we diſtributed among [162] them with an Air that ſufficiently teſtify'd our Diſcontent.

The unreaſonable Wretch look'd earneſtly upon his Followers one after another, as if he were in doubt what to do, and conſequently to demand their Advice, whether he ought to receive our Preſent or refuſe it. But whilſt we were inclining our Necks, and delivering him the Ax, the young Commander, who ſeem'd to be our Protector (and it may be really was) came and ſnatch'd us by the Arm, and all in a rage hurry'd us away to his Cabin. His Brother too taking up ſome Arrows, broke 'em in our ſight, to aſſure us by that Action, that he would protect our Lives at the hazard of his own.

The next Day they left us alone in our Canou, without putting any of their Men a-board to aſſiſt us, as they had hitherto done: However, they kept all in the reer of us. After rowing four or five Leagues, another of their Captains came up to us, and made us land. As ſoon as we got on ſhoar, he fell to cutting of Graſs, which he made into three little Heaps, and bade us ſit down upon them: Then he took a piece of Cedar, which was full of little round Holes, into one of which he thruſt a Stick of a harder Subſtance than the

Cedar, and began to rub it about pretty faſt between the Palms of his Hands, till at length it took fire.[1] The uſe he put it to was to light the Tobacco in his great Pipe; and after he had wept ſome time over us, and laid his Hands on our Heads, he made me ſmoak in a *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace; and then acquainted us by Signs,[2] that within ſixteen Days we ſhould be at home.

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[1] This method of making fire was used by many other tribes, notably the Huron; the Eastern Algonquian peoples generally employed stones containing iron (usually found in the form of iron pyrites),— a method still in use among some Eskimo tribes,— often with flint. The appliances introduced by white men — the flint and steel, with tinder-box, and the matches — soon superseded the primitive aboriginal methods. For detailed account of these, see Hough's "Fire-making Apparatus," in U. S. National Museum *Report*, 1887–88, pp. 531–587. Cf. *Jes. Relations*, vi, p. 217; xii, 117, 272; xxii, 267, 319.— Ed.

[2] See Garrick Mallery's "Sign Language among North American Indians," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1879–80, pp. 263–552.— Ed.

[163] CHAP. LI.

Ceremonies us'd by the Savages when they ſhare their Priſoners. Continuation of our Journey by Land.

HAVING thus travell'd nineteen Days in our Canou by Water, we arriv'd at length within five or ſix Leagues of the Fall, to which we had formerly given the Name of St. *Anthony*, as we came to underſtand afterwards. Here the Barbarians order'd us to land in a Creek of the River *Meſchaſipi;* after which, they held an Aſſembly, to conſult what they were to do with us. In ſhort, they ſeparated, and gave us to three of their Chiefs, inſtead of three of their Sons which had been kill'd in the War: Then they ſeiz'd our Canou, and took away all our Equipage. The Canou they pull'd to pieces, for fear it might aſſiſt us to return to their Enemies: Their own they hid amongſt the Alders, to uſe again when they ſhould have occaſion to hunt that way. So that tho' we might have gone conveniently enough quite up into their Country by Water, yet were we oblig'd, by their Conduct, to travel no leſs than ſixty Leagues a-foot.

Our ordinary Marches were from break of Day till ten at Night: And when we met with any Rivers, we ſwam them, themſelves (who for the Moſt part are of an extraordinary ſize) carrying our Clothes and Equipage on their Heads,

and the Canou-Men, who were leſs than me, upon their Shoulders, becauſe they could not ſwim. As I us'd to come out of the Water, which was often full of Ice, for we travell'd ſtill North, I was hardly able to ſtand upon my Legs. In theſe Parts the Froſts continue all Night even at this time of the Year; ſo [164] that our Legs were all over Blood, being cut by the Ice, which we broke by degrees in our Paſſage as we waded o'er the Lakes and Rivers. We never eat but once in four and twenty Hours, and then nothing but a few Scraps of Meat dry'd in Smoak after their Faſhion, which they afforded us with abundance of regret.

I was ſo weak that I often laid me down, reſolving rather to die than follow theſe Savages any farther, who travell'd at a rate ſo extraordinary, as far ſurpaſſes the Strength of any *European*. However, to haſten us, they ſometimes ſet fire to the dry Graſs in the Meadows through which we paſs'd; ſo that our Choice was march or burn. I had a Hat which I had taken with me, to fence me from the Sun during the Heats of the Summer. This would often fall from my Head into the Fire, becauſe it was not over-fit, and the Fire ſo very near. The Barbarians would ſnatch it out again, and lend me a hand to ſave me from the Flames, which they had kindled, as well as to haſten our March, as I have ſaid, as to give notice to their People of their return. I muſt here acknowledge, that had it not been for *du Gay*, who did all he could to encourage me, through the whole Courſe of this tireſome March, I had certainly ſunk under the Fatigues of it, having neither Spirits nor Strength left to ſupport me.

[165] CHAP. LII.

A great Conteſt ariſes amongſt the Savages, about dividing our Merchandiſe and Equipage; as alſo my Sacerdotal Ornaments and little Cheſt.

AFTER having travell'd about ſixty Leagues a-foot, and undergone all the Fatigues of Hunger, Thirſt, and Cold, beſides a thouſand Outrages daily done us in our Perſons, after we had march'd Night and Day without ceaſing, wading through Lakes and Rivers, and ſometimes ſwam. As we now began to approach the Habitations of the Barbarians, which are ſituated in Moraſſes inacceſſible to their Enemies, they thought it a proper time to divide the Merchandiſe which they had taken from us. Here they had like to have fallen out and cut one another's Throats, about the Roll of *Martinico*-Tobacco, which might ſtill weigh about fifty Pound. Theſe People value this Commodity far beyond what we do Silver or Gold. They have very good of their own growth; but this was ſo well dreſs'd, and made up into ſuch beautiful Rings, that they were perfectly charm'd with it. The moſt reaſonable amongſt them made us underſtand by Signs, that they would give their [*sc.* our] Canou-Men ſeveral Caſtor-Skins in return for what they had taken: But others looking upon us as Slaves, becauſe they ſaid we had furniſh'd Arms

to their Enemies, maintain'd that they were no ways oblig'd to make any return for the Things they had taken.

The reaſon why they divided the Spoil here, was, becauſe this Band was compos'd of two or three different People: So that thoſe that liv'd at a diſtance, were apprehenſive leſt the others, who were juſt at home, might detain all the Merchandiſe which they [166] had taken, in the firſt Villages they ſhould come at; and therefore were reſolv'd to play a ſure Game, and have their Share aforehand. Nor had they any greater Reſpect for what belong'd to me, than for the Merchandiſe which they took from the Canou-men; for they ſeiz'd my Brocard Chaſuble, and all the Ornaments of my portable Chapel, except the Chalice, which they durſt not touch. They obſerv'd that this Veſſel, which was of Silver gilt, caſt a glittering Light, ſo that as often as they chanc'd to look towurds it, they would ſhut their Eyes: The reaſon was, as we underſtood afterwards, becauſe they believ'd it to be a Spirit which would kill them. I had a little Cheſt, which I kept lock'd; they made me underſtand by Signs, that if I did not open it, or break the Lock, they would do it for me, againſt ſome ſharp Stones which they ſhew'd me. The reaſon why they threatned me thus, was, becauſe they had not been able to open it all the way, though they attempted it ſeveral times, to ſee what was in it. Theſe People underſtand nothing of Locks and Keys: Beſides, their Deſign was not to cumber themſelves with the Box it ſelf, but only to take out the Things that were in it. After I had open'd it, and they ſaw there was little or nothing in it but Books and Papers, they left it me untouch'd.

CHAP. LIII.

The Troop approaches the Village. A Grand Conſult amongſt the Savages, whether they ſhould kill us, or ſave and adopt us for their Sons. The Reception which we had from them; and the uſe they made of my Chaſuble.

AFTER five hard Days travel, without ſo much as reſting, except a little by Night in the open Air, we perceiv'd at laſt abundance of Women and [167] Children coming out to meet our little Army: All the Elders of the Nation were aſſembled upon this Occaſion. We obſerv'd ſeveral Cabins, near the Poſts of which lay ſeveral Truſſes of Straw and dry'd Weeds, where theſe Barbarians are wont to faſten and burn the Slaves which they bring home with them from their Wars. Here they order'd *Picard du Gay* to ſing, who all the time rattled a hollow Gourd full of little round Stones, which he held in his Hand. I obſerv'd moreover, that his Hair and Face were painted with different Colours, and that they had faſtned a Tuft of white Feathers to his Head. Theſe Ceremonies renew'd our Fears; and we thought we had more reaſon than ever to believe, that they had ſtill a Deſign to put us to death. Nor were our Fears groundleſs, ſince theſe, with many others, are the Ceremonies which they uſe at the burning of their Enemies.

The worſt was, we could not make our ſelves be under-

ſtood. However, after many Vows and ſecret Prayers which we offer'd up to God on this Occaſion, the Barbarians at laſt gave us ſome wild Oats to eat, of which I have ſpoken elſewhere. They gave them us in great Diſhes made of Birch-trees; and the Savage Women ſeaſon'd them with *Bluez*.[1] This is a ſort of Black Grain, which they dry in the Sun in the Summer, and are as good as Corrans: The *Dutch* call them *Clake-beſien*.

All the while the Feaſt laſted, which was the beſt Meal that we had made ever ſince we had been taken, there was a high Diſpute between *Aquipaguetin* and the others, about the Diſtribution they were to make of the two Canou-men and my ſelf. At laſt *Aquipaguetin*, as Head of the Party, carry'd it; who turning from one of the principal Captains towards me, preſented me to ſmoak in his *Calumet* of Peace, receiving from me at the ſame time that which we had brought, as a certain Pledge of the Union which [168] was to be for the future 'twixt them and us. After this, he adopted me for his Son, in the room of him that he had loſt in the War.

Narhetoba and another Captain did the ſame by the two Canou-men. This Separation was very grievous to us, tho' ſomewhat allay'd by the Satisfaction we had to find that our Lives were ſafe. *Du Gay* took me aſide to confeſs him, being ſenſible of the uncertain Condition his Life was in, amongſt ſo barbarous a People. This oblig'd him to embrace me very heartily, and to beg my Pardon for what was paſt,

[1] The common blueberry (*Vaccinium Canadense*), called *bluet* by the French habitants. It was a favorite article of food among the Indians, in its season; they also dried it for winter use.— ED.

having firſt made the ſame Requeſt to God. I ſhould have been overjoy'd to have ſeen *Michael Ako* as well diſpos'd: However, I did not omit to ſhew both the one and the other all the Marks of a moſt tender Affection.

In ſhort, the Savages having parted us, led us away each to his own Village. Our Way lay over a Moraſs, where we march'd half way the Leg in Water for a League together, at the end of which we were met by five of *Aquipaguetin*'s Wives, who receiv'd me in one of the three Canou's of Bark which they had brought with them, and then carry'd me a little League farther into a ſmall Iſland, where their Cabins were.

CHAP. LIV.

The Authors Reception by the Relations of Aquipaguetin. *They make him ſweat to recover him of his Fatigues. The uſe they make of his Chaſuble and other Ornaments.*

I ARRIV'D at this Place in the Month of *May*, 1680. the Day I cannot preciſely tell; for I was ſo haraſs'd by the Savages on the Way, that I could not make all the little Obſervations which otherwiſe I would have done: Beſides, there is ſome ſeven or [169] eight Hours difference between the Days and Nights of *Europe*, and thoſe of North-*America*, becauſe of the Retrogradation of the Sun. The Cape[1] was always to Weſt of us from *Rochel* [La Rochelle] to *Quebec;* but to South-weſt from thence, till we came to *Meſchaſipi*, which made a conſiderable Variation in the Needle.

This Variation was occaſion'd by the unconſtant motion of the Needle, which in certain Latitudes would encline to the North, or North-Eaſt; whereas in others 'twould turn from the North to the North-weſt. We never could be ſo well aſſur'd of our Computations in our long Voyages, as to know exactly the way our Canou's made in a Day, or what was the Variation of the Needle in each Latitude. But we

[1] Fr. *cap*, apparently a reference to the *cap* of the compass, defined by Larousse as "a diameter traced in the compass-box, which indicates the axis of the ship."—Ed.

found there were many Minutes of Variation, according to the Point the Wind was in. To ſay the truth, able Men might have loſt the Memory of many things under the ſame Circumſtances with my ſelf.

At the entry of the Captain's Cabin who had adopted me, one of the Barbarians, who ſeem'd to be very old, preſented me with a great Pipe to ſmoak in, and weeping over me all the while with abundance of Tears, rubb'd both my Arms and my Head. This was to ſhew how concern'd he was to ſee me ſo haraſs'd and fatigu'd: And indeed I had often need enough of two Men to ſupport me when I was up, or raiſe me when I was down. There was a Bears-Skin before the Fire, upon which the youngeſt Boy of the Cabin caus'd me to lie down, and then with the Greaſe of wild Cats anointed my Thighs, Legs, and Soles of my Feet.

Aquipaguetin's Son, who call'd me Brother, had got my Brocard Chaſuble, and was ſtrutting up and down with it upon his naked Back. He had wrapp'd up in it the Bones of a Man who had been very conſiderable amongſt them, for whoſe Memory they had ſtill a wonderful Reſpect. The Prieſt's Girdle, which [170] was made of red and white Wooll, with two Loops at the end, ſerv'd him to faſten it, whilſt he carry'd it up and down in Triumph, calling it *Louis Chinnen*, which ſignifies, as I ſince underſtand, the Robe of him, who is nam'd the *Sun*. After they had for ſome time us'd my Chaſuble as an Ornament to cover the Bones of their Dead, at the celebrating their moſt ſolemn Rites, they made a Preſent of it to a People in Alliance with them, who

liv'd 4 or 500 Leagues diſtant towards the Weſt, but were come in Embaſſie, and had danc'd the *Calumet.*

The Day after my Arrival, *Aquipaguetin*, who was Head of a Great Family, put me on a Robe which was made of the Skins of the Bellies of wild Bulls: He gave me a ſecond, made of ten large Caſtor-Skins. Then he ſhew'd me ſix or ſeven of his Wives, (for Poligamy is in faſhion here;) he told them, as I afterwards underſtood, That they were to eſteem me as one of their Sons. After this, he ſet a Bark-Diſh before me, in which were Bremes, and other white Fiſh, to regale me withal. He gave Orders to thoſe about him, to give me the Title that was due to the Rank which I was to hold amongſt my new Kindred.

Farther; this new Father of mine obſerving that I could not well riſe without two or three to help me, order'd a Stove to be made, into which he caus'd me to enter ſtark-naked with four Savages; who before they began to ſweat, ty'd their *Prepuces* about with certain Strings made of the Bark of a white Wood. This Stove was cover'd with the Skins of wild Bulls, and in it they put Flints and other Stones red-hot. They order'd me by Signs to hold my Breath, time after time, as long as I could, which I did, as well as thoſe that were with me. As for the Privy Parts, I had only a Handkerchief to cover me.

[171] As ſoon as the Savages that were with me had let go their Breath, which they did with a great force, *Aquipaguetin* began to ſing with a loud and thundring Voice; the others ſeconded him; and laying their Hands on my Body,

began to rub it, and at the ſame time to weep bitterly. I was like to fall into a Swoon, and ſo was forc'd to quit the Stove. At my coming out, I was ſcarce able to take up my Habit of St. *Francis* to cover me withal, I was ſo weak: However, they continu'd to make we ſweat thrice a Week, which at laſt reſtor'd me to my priſtine Vigour, ſo that I found my ſelf as well as ever.

CHAP. LV.

The Author like to be famiſh'd. They admire his Compaſs, and an Iron Pot which he had. He makes a Dictionary, and inſtructs them in Points of Religion, in relation to Poligamy and Celibacy.

MANY a melancholy Day did I paſs amongſt theſe Savages. *Aquipaguetin*, who adopted me, gave me nothing to eat but a few wild Oats five or ſix times a Week, and the Roes of dry'd Fiſh. All this Traſh the Women boil'd up in an Earthen Pot: Beſides, he ſent me into a Neighbouring Iſle, with his Wives, Children, and Servants, where I was to hough and dig with a Pick-axe and Shovel, which I had recover'd from thoſe that robb'd us. Here we planted Tobacco, and ſome *European* Pulſe, which I brought from thence, and were highly priz'd by *Aquipaguetin*.

This Man, to make himſelf the more conſiderable amongſt thoſe of his Tribe, would often aſſemble the Ancients of his Village, and in preſence of them, ſend for my Compaſs, which I had ſtill by me. Upon my turning the Needle with a Key, he took occaſion [172] to tell them, and with Truth enough, That by the Guidance of that Machine it was, that we *Europeans* travell'd the whole World. Nay, being an able Spokeſman, he poſſeſs'd them farther, That we were Spirits;

and that we were capable of bringing things to paſs that were altogether out of their power. At the end of his Diſcourſe, which was very pathetick, all the Elders wept over me, admiring in me what they could not comprehend.

I had an Iron Pot about three foot round, which had the Figure of a Lion on it, which during our Voyage ſerv'd us to bake our Victuals in. This Veſſel was not ſo apt to break as our ordinary Kettles, which are more brittle; for which reaſon it was, not being likely to meet with Braziers to furniſh us with new upon occaſion, that we took this with us. This Pot the Barbarians durſt never ſo much as touch, without covering their Hands firſt in ſomething of Caſtor-Skin. And ſo great a Terrour was it to the Women, that they had it hung abroad upon the Bough of a Tree; for they durſt not come or ſleep in the Cabin when it was there.

We would have made a Preſent of it to ſome of their Chiefs; but none of them would either accept or make uſe of it, becauſe they thought that there was a Spirit hid within, that would certainly kill them. Theſe People are all of them ſubject to the like Superſtition. Their Jugglers impoſe whatever they think fit upon their Belief. 'Twas ſome time I ſpent amongſt 'em, before I could make my ſelf be underſtood. But Hunger beginning to preſs me hard, I ſet about making a Dictionary in their Tongue, the which I did by means of their Children, with whom I made my ſelf as familiar as poſſible, to inform my ſelf by their Prattle.

When once I had got the Word *Tahetchiaben*, which ſignifies in their Language, *How call you this?* I began to

be ſoon able to talk of ſuch things as are [173] moſt familiar. This difficulty was hard to ſurmount at firſt, becauſe there was no Interpreter that underſtood both Tongues. For Example; If I had a mind to know what *to run* was in their Tongue, I was forc'd to mend my pace, and indeed actually run from one end of the Cabin to t'other, till they underſtood what I meant, and had told me the Word; which I preſently ſet down in my Dictionary. The Principal of them obſerving the great Inclination I had to learn their Language, would often tell me, *Vatchiſon ẹ̀gagahé, Spirit, thou takeſt a great deal of Pains. Put Black to White.* One day they told me the Names of all the Parts of a Man's Body. However, I forbore ſetting down ſeveral immodeſt Terms, which theſe People ſcruple not to uſe every foot. Obſerving it, they would often cry *ẹ̀gagahé, ẹ̀gagahé; Spirit, Spirit, ſet down that Word as well as the reſt.*

Thus would they divert themſelves with me, and often ſay to one another, *When we ask Father* Louis *any thing*, (for they had heard our Canou-Men call me ſo) *he does not anſwer us. But when he has lookt upon the White*, (for they have no word for Paper) *he then talks, and makes us underſtand his Thoughts. This White thing*, wou'd they add, *muſt needs be a Spirit, which teaches him to underſtand all we ſay.* Hence they concluded, that neither of the Canou-Men had ſo much Wit as my ſelf, becauſe they could not *work upon that which was White.* So that this Qualification in me, made them fondly imagine that I could do any thing elſe.

One day, ſeeing the Rain fall in ſuch abundance, that they

fear'd 'twould ſpoil their hunting, they order'd me to bid it ceaſe. I told them, pointing with my Finger to the Clouds, *That He, who was the Great Captain of Heaven, was the ſole Maſter of the Rain and Sunſhine; That He was the Great Diſpoſer of all the Events that happen to Mortals, or the Univerſe in general; That what they bid me do, depended not on me, but the Firſt Mover, who had ſent me thither, to teach them to acknowledge him for their Creatour and Redeemer.*

[174] Obſerving me diſtinguiſh'd from the Canou-Men by my Habit, and having no Notion of *Celibacy*, they would often ask what Age I was, and what Wives and Children I had. Their way of reck'ning their Years is by Winters. Theſe Wretches, void of Light and Inſtruction, were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at the Anſwer I made them. I told them, pointing to the two Canou-Men, whom I was come three Leagues to viſit, *That with us, one Man might marry but one Wife, and that nothing cou'd ſeparate him again from that One, but Death: That for my ſelf, I had promis'd the Great Maſter of Life never to marry any; but to come and dwell amongſt them, and inſtruct them in the Commands of the Great Maſter of Heaven and Earth, and to live poorly amongſt them, far from my own Country, where all good Things did abound.*

'Tis true, ſays one of them, *here is little or no Hunting in theſe Parts, and thou ſuffereſt much: But have but patience till Summer, we ſhall then go into the hot Countries, where we ſhall kill Bulls enough, and then thou wilt make thy ſelf ſufficient amends for the time thou haſt ſpent here.* I had been well content, had they let me eat as their Children did; but they hid the

Victuals from me, and wou'd riſe to eat in the Night, when I knew nothing of it. And although Women have uſually more Compaſſion than Men, yet they kept the little Fiſh that they had, all for their Children. They conſider'd me as a Slave whom their Warriours had taken in their Enemy's Country; and preferr'd the Lives of their Children before any Conſideration they had for me; as indeed it was but reaſonable they ſhou'd.

However, ſome of the Elders would come often, and mourn over me in a very doleful manner. One wou'd call me *Grandſon*, another *Nephew;* and all would ſay to me, *I am ſtrangely afflicted to ſee thee ſo long without eating, and to underſtand thou haſt been ſo ill treated in thy Journey. Thoſe were young Warriours without Courage, who wou'd have kill'd thee, and who robb'd thee of what* [175] *thou hadſt. If thou wou'dſt have had Robes of Caſtors, or wild Bulls, to dry thy Tears, we wou'd have given 'em thee; but thou wouldſt accept of nothing we have preſented thee.*

CHAP. LVI.

The moſt conſiderable Captain of the Iſſati *and* Nadoueſſians *upbraid thoſe that took us. The Author baptizes the Daughter of* Mameniſi.

OUASICOUDE, that is to ſay, *The Pierc'd Pine*, the wiſeſt and moſt conſiderable of all the Chiefs of the *Iſſati* and *Nadoueſſians*, made it publickly appear, that he was highly incens'd againſt the Warriors that had us'd us ſo very ill. He ſaid once in a full Council, That thoſe who had robb'd us of our Things, were to be compar'd to famiſh'd Dogs, which having ſtole a piece of Fleſh out of a Diſh, ſneak away with it when they have done: That they that had acted much after the ſame rate in regard of us, ought to be look'd upon as Dogs, who cou'd put ſuch unworthy Affronts upon Men, who brought them Iron, and other Merchandizes, which they had no knowledge of, though they were found to be ſo uſeful: That for Himſelf, he ſhou'd one day have an opportunity of being reveng'd on him, who had been Author of all our Sufferings. This Reprimand was worthy the Character of a Perſon of *Ouaſicoude*'s Authority: And the Generoſity of the Action redounded ſince to the Benefit of the whole Nation, as we ſhall ſee anon.

Going one day, as I often did, to viſit the Cabins, I

found the Infant-Child of one call'd *Mameniſi*, very ſick. Having a little examin'd the Symptoms of its Diſtemper, I found the Child paſt hopes of Recovery. I deſir'd our two Canou-Men to give me their [176] Opinions, telling them, I thought my ſelf oblig'd in Conſcience to baptize it. *Michael Ako* cou'd not be prevail'd with to enter the Cabin where the Infant lay. He ſaid in excuſe, That I could not forget what a Riſque we had run once already, of being murder'd by the Savages through my Obſtinacy, in perſiſting to ſay my Breviary; whence 'twas to be fear'd, that what I was now going to do, might expoſe us again to the ſame Danger.

The Wretch had rather comply with certain Superſtitions of the Barbarians, than aſſiſt me in ſo pious a Deſign. Being follow'd then by none but *Picard du Gay*, who aſſiſted as God-father, or rather Witneſs of the Baptiſm, I chriſten'd the Child, and nam'd it *Antonetta*, from St. *Anthony* of *Padua;* and the rather, becauſe the ſaid *Peter*[1] *du Gay*'s Name was *Anthony Auguelle*, Native of *Amiens*, and Nephew of Monſieur *du Canroi*, Proctor-General of the *Premonſtres*,[2] and ſince Abbot of *Beaulieu*, to whom I preſented him ſafe at our Return from *Canada*. But to proceed; for want of more proper Utenſils, I took a wooden Diſh, and having put ſome common ordinary Water into it, ſprinkled it upon the Head of the little

[1] This is an error for Picard, a nick-name given to Auguelle from his native province (see p. 180, *note* 1, *ante*).— Ed.

[2] The Premonstrants were a monastic order founded by Saint Norbert in 1120, at Prémontré, France; his object was to correct the disorders prevalent among the chapters of canons. The order soon grew rich and powerful, but in course of time became itself corrupt, and fell into decay. The term "proctor," which Hennepin here uses, is more often translated "procurator" (Fr. *procureur*).— Ed.

Savage, pronouncing the following Words, *Creature of God, I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Then I took half my Altar-Cloth, which I had ſnatch'd out of the Hands of a Savage, who had ſtole it from me, and ſpread it o'er the Body of the Infant.

The Baptiſm was accompany'd with no other Ceremony, becauſe I was no longer in a Condition to ſay Maſs, my Sacerdotal Robes being all taken from me. I believ'd the Linen could not ſerve to a more proper End than a Winding-Sheet to the firſt Infant of the Country, that had the Happineſs to be baptized. I know not how far its Pains might be aſſwag'd by Virtue of the Linen, or what Alterations it might feel. I am ſure I ſaw it laughing the next Day in [177] its Mother's Arms, who believ'd I had cur'd her Child. However it dy'd ſome time after. which affected me more with Joy than Grief.

Had this Child recover'd, 'twas much to be fear'd 'twou'd have trod in the Steps of its Fore-fathers, and been overgrown with their infamous Superſtitions, for want of a Preacher to inſtruct it. For indeed, if thoſe of its Nation dwelling in Darkneſs and Ignorance, *continue to ſin without Law, they ſhall alſo periſh without Law*, as we are told by the Apoſtle. Upon theſe Conſiderations I was glad it had pleas'd God to take this little Chriſtian out of the World, leſt it might have fall'n into Temptations, had it recover'd, which might have engag'd it in Errour and Superſtition. I have often attributed my Preſervation amidſt the greateſt Dangers which I have ſince run, to the Care I took for its Baptiſm.

CHAP. LVII.

An Embaſſy ſent to the Iſſati *by the Savages that inhabit to the Weſt of them. Whence it appears that there is no ſuch thing as the Streights of* Anian; *and that* Japan *is on the ſame Continent as* Louiſiana.

UNDER the Reign of the Emperour *Charles* V. the Fathers Recluſe[1] of our Order were the firſt that were ſent by his Command into *New-Mexico;* ſince which time there have been of them beyond the *Vermilion-Sea.* The moſt Remarkable Epoque of the Streights of *Anian*, commences from the time of that moſt excellent *Religious* of our Order, *Martin de Valencia*, who was the Firſt Biſhop of the great City of *Mexico.* We have ſpoke of him elſewhere.

In proceſs of time 'twas believ'd that the ſaid Streights were only imaginary: Many Perſons noted for great Learning, are of this Opinion; and to [178] evince the Truth of it, I will here ſubjoin one evident Proof, to thoſe which are already produc'd by them: and it is this. During my ſtay amongſt the *Iſſati* and *Nadouſſians*, there arriv'd four Savages in Embaſſie to theſe People. They had come above five hundred Leagues from the Weſt; and told us by the Interpreters of the *Iſſati*, that they were four Moons upon the

[1] The Récollet branch of the Franciscan order (see p. 8, *note* 1, *ante*).—Ed.

Way; for ſo it is they call their Months. They added, that their Country was to the Weſt, and that we lay to the Eaſt in reſpect of them; that they had march'd the whole time without reſting, except to ſleep, or kill Game for their Subſiſtence. They aſſur'd us there was no ſuch thing as the Streights of *Anian;* and that in their whole Journey they had neither met with, nor paſſed over any *Great Lake;* by which Phraſe they always mean the Sea, nor any Arm of it.[1]

They farther inform'd us, that the Nation of the *Aſſenipoulacs*,[2] whoſe Lake is down in the Map, and who lie North-Eaſt of the *Iſſati*, was not above ſix or ſeven Days Journey from us: That none of the Nations within their Knowledge, who lie to the Weſt and North-Weſt of them, had any great Lake about their Countries, which were very large, but only Rivers, which coming from the North, run croſs the Countries of their Neighbouring Nations, which border on their Confines on the ſide of the Great Lake, which in the Language of the Savages is the ſame as Sea: That Spirits, and Pigmies, or Men of little Stature, did inhabit there, as they had been inform'd by the People that liv'd farther up than themſelves; and that all the Nations which lie beyond their Country, and

[1] The name given by early geographers to an imaginary strait, supposed to afford a northern passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; it is shown on many old maps — even as late as Herman Moll's (about 1715), and Robert de Vaugondy's of 1750 (revised edition of 1783). For origin of the name Anian, see H. H. Bancroft's *Hist. of Northwest Coast*, i, pp. 53–56.— Ed.

[2] Also written Assinipoualak; the Asiniboin tribe of the Siouan stock. They are regarded by our ethnologists as an offshoot from one of the Dakota tribes, and Carver (*Travels*, ed. 1778, p. 76) speaks of them as "a revolted band of the Naudowessies"; their habitat is mostly in Canada. The lake here called by their name is Lake Winnipeg.— Ed.

thoſe which are next to them, do dwell in Meadows and large Fields, where are many wild Bulls and Caſtors, which are greyer than thoſe of the North, and[1] have their Coat more inclining to Black; with many other wild Beaſts, which yield very fine Furrs.

[179] The four Savages of the ſaid Embaſſy aſſur'd us farther, that there were very few Foreſts in the Countries through which they paſs'd in their way hither; inſomuch that now and then they were ſo put to it for Fuel, that they were forc'd to make Fires of Bull's Dung, to boil their Victuals with in Earthen-Pots, which they make uſe of, as neither having, nor knowing of any better.[2]

All theſe Circumſtances which I have here inſerted, make it appear, that there is no ſuch thing as the Streights of *Anian*, as we uſually ſee them ſet down in Maps. To aſſert the Truth of what I ſay, I here frankly offer my ſelf to return into theſe Parts, with ſuch Ships as His *Britannick Majeſty*, or their *High and Mightineſſes*,[3] the *States General*, ſhall think

[1] An obvious error in translation; for "and" read "which" (see *Nouvelle Découverte* — Utrecht, 1697 — p. 370). — Ed.

[2] Remains of earthen pottery have been found in mounds opened in Iowa and Dakota; but Dorsey says (*U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891–92, pp. 276–277): "Pottery has not been made by the Omahas for more than fifty years; the art of making it has been forgotten by the tribe. . . . When pottery was made, they used bowls and kettles (and spoons)." Those Siouan tribes who did not make pottery could easily, and doubtless did, procure utensils by barter among the tribes along the Mississippi. See W. H. Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of Mississippi Valley," in *Report* for 1882–83, pp. 361–436. — Ed.

[3] High mightinesses: a term applied to the members of the States-General, or legislative body, of Holland. — Ed.

fit to ſend thither, in order to a full Diſcovery; in which I have no other Aim but the Glory of God, the Propagation of the Goſpel, Inſtruction of thoſe blind and ignorant People, who have been neglected for ſo many Ages, Improvement of Trade, which, the better 'tis underſtood, the more will it daily encreaſe between the Subjects of the King of *Spain* my Maſter, and thoſe of His *Britannick Majeſty* and *States General:* And laſtly, That Correſpondence and Union ſo neceſſary to be maintain'd amongſt them, that they may live and labour together for the Common Good. I declare, I have no other Deſign; that my Intentions are ſincere and upright, and that my Deſire is to be ſerviceable to all *Europe;* Reſpect being firſt had, as I am in Duty bound, to my Natural Prince, the King of *England*, and the *States;* to whom I am ſingularly engag'd, for the good Reception they were pleas'd to honour me with. Others perhaps would have us'd me ill, in return of all my Services, and the many dangerous Voyages I have made, with no other Deſign, but to contribute what in me lay, to the Glory of God, the Salvation of Souls, and the Good of all *Chriſtendom.* I know [180] well what I ſay. But to return: Whatever Efforts have been made for many Years paſt, by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, the two Nations of the World, who are the greateſt Navigators, to find out a Paſſage to *China* and *Japan*, thro' the Frozen-Sea, they have not as yet been able to effect it. But by the help of my Diſcovery, and the Aſſiſtance of God, I doubt not to let all *Europe* ſee that a Paſſage may ſtill be found thither, and that an eaſie one

too. For Example; One may be tranſported into the *Pacifick-Sea* by Rivers, which are large, and capable of carrying great Veſſels, and from thence 'tis eaſie to go to *China* and *Japan*, without croſſing the Equinoctial Line. Thoſe that read my Relation, and will never ſo little examine the *Maps* which are annext to it, will ſoon acknowledge the Truth of what I ſay.

CHAP. LVIII.

The Iſſati *aſſemble to hunt the Wild-Bull. Refuſal of the two Canow-Men to take the Author into their Canow, in order to go down the River of* St. Francis.

AFTER three Months or thereabouts, ſpent very ill amongſt the *Iſſati* and *Nadoueſſians*, theſe Nations aſſembl'd to hunt the Wild-Bull; and their Captains having aſſign'd them their Stations, that they might not fall in with one another, they ſeparated themſelves into many Bands.

Aquipaguetin, the Chief, that had adopted me for his Son, wou'd have carry'd me to the Weſt with about 200 Families. But remembering the Reproaches which the great Captain *Ouaſicoude* had made him, upon the Score of our ill uſage, I was apprehenſive leſt he ſhou'd lay hold of this Opportunity to avenge himſelf on me. I told him therefore, I expected ſome Spirits, which in their Language is as much as [181] to ſay *Europeans*, at the River *Ouiſconſin*, which diſcharges it ſelf into the River *Meſchaſipi;* that according to the Promiſe made me by the Sieur *de la Salle*, they wou'd meet me there with Iron, and other Commodities, which as yet they were unacquainted with; and that if he would think of turning his Expedition that way, I ſhou'd be very glad to accompany

him. He heard my Propoſal, and was willing to embrace it; but thoſe of his Band wou'd not let him.

In the beginning of *July*, 1680, we began to deſcend towards the South, with the great Captain *Ouaſicoude*, and about 80 Cabins, containing 130 Families and 250 Warriors. The Savages who had nothing but old Canou's, cou'd not make me room; ſo that they went four Days Journey lower, to get ſome Birchen-Bark, to make more new ones. I made a hole in the Ground, in which I hid my gilt Chalice, with my Books and Papers, till we ſhould return from hunting; and took nothing with me but my Breviary, that I might not cumber my ſelf.

I Plac'd my ſelf upon the Brink of the Lake which forms the River of *St. Francis*, where I held out my Hands to the Canou-Men, as they paſt very ſwiftly by, to deſire them to take me in. Our two *Europeans* were in a Canow, which had been given them by the Savages. However, I cou'd not prevail with them to receive me. *Michael Ako* told me very brutiſhly, he had carry'd me long enough. This rough and unhandſome Anſwer made me very melancholy, when I ſaw my ſelf forſaken by thoſe of my own Country and Religion, whom I had always endeavour'd to oblige, as themſelves had often acknowledg'd before Perſons of the firſt Quality, where I was us'd to be receiv'd with all the Marks of Diſtinction, while themſelves were ſuffer'd to ſtand and cool their Heels at the Door.

[182] But God, who of his Mercy never forſook me throughout all my Adventures, inſpir'd two of the Savages

with ſo much Compaſſion, as to take me with them into their Canou, though it were leſs than that of the *Europeans*. Here I was continually employ'd in laving out Water, which ſoak'd in again as faſt as 'twas thrown out, through abundance of little Chinks. This Work was uneaſie enough; beſides that, I could not keep my ſelf from being thoroughly wet. However, 'twas neceſſary to have Patience. It might have been properly ſaid of this little Veſſel, that when a Man was in it, he was in his Coffin; ſo crazy was it, and ready to break. This ſort of Canou's ſeldom weigh above 50 Pounds, and the leaſt Motion of the Body overſets them, at leaſt if you have not been long acquainted with this ſort of Navigation.

At Evening when we landed, *Picard* began to excuſe himſelf, pretending their Canow was a very rotten one, that it would certainly have burſt, had we been all three in it, and that we muſt needs have been left by the way. Notwithſtanding theſe Excuſes, I told them, that being Chriſtians, they had not done well to uſe me as they did, eſpecially conſidering among whom we were: That they had forſaken me very unſeaſonably, having left me all alone at above 800 Leagues diſtance from *Canada*, allowing for the Reaches we were to make, before we cou'd get thither: That if they had receiv'd any good Uſage from the Savages, 'twas owing to my Ingenuity more than their own, having been capable of letting ſeveral of them Blood, and otherwiſe aſſiſting 'em in their Sickneſs by my Orvietan, and ſome other Medicines which I carefully kept by me.

To this I added, that by the ſame means I had cur'd

others of them that had been bitten by Rattle-Snakes, of which I ſhall ſpeak in my *Second Volume.* That I ſhav'd the Crowns of their Children's Heads, [183] (on which they wear the Hair till eighteen or twenty) which was no ſmall matter, conſidering they cou'd not do it themſelves, without putting them to great Pain, by burning off the Hair with flat Stones, which they heat red-hot in the Fire: That hitherto indeed, I had made but little advance in order to their Salvation, by reaſon of their natural Stupidity; but that the beſt way to take the Soul was to begin with the Body: That, in ſhort I had gain'd their Friendſhip by my Services, and that they would have certainly kill'd us at the time they us'd us ſo ill, but that they knew I had certain Remedies about me proper to reſtore Health to the Sick; which they thought was a Treaſure never to be valu'd as it ought.

None was with me during this Harangue, but *Picard du Gay*, who, as he was going to his Cabin, deſir'd me to pardon him. But the great Captain *Ouaſicoude* having heard of this barbarous Action of the two Canow-Men, order'd them to appear before the Council, and told them, that for the future he wou'd take care to remove me out of the reach, not only of *Aquipaguetin*, who had ſo often attempted my Life, and yet adopted me for his Son, but likewiſe from their Company, who, like two Villains, as they were, had ſo baſely deſerted me. Had I not luckily bethought my ſelf to break three Arrows in the preſence of this brave Chief, the Canow-Men being yet by, he had infallibly caus'd them to have been put

to death that very Minute. I ſhall never forget the Humanity of this great Captain, who treated me ſo favourably on all Occaſions. The two Canow-Men were ſurpriz'd at what had happen'd, and promis'd me an entire Obedience for the future.

[184] CHAP. LIX.

The Savages halt above the Fall of St. Anthony *of* Padua. *They are ſtreighten'd for Proviſions. The Author, with* Picard, *returns to the River* Ouiſconſin. *The Adventures of the Voyage.*

FOUR Days after our Departure to hunt the wild Bulls, the Barbarians made a Halt ſome eight Leagues above the Fall of *St. Anthony* of *Padua*, upon an Eminence, over againſt the River of *St. Francis*. The Savage Women prepar'd little Docks to build the new Canou's in, againſt the return of thoſe who were gone for Bark. The Youth in the mean time went out to hunt the Stag, the wild Goat and the Caſtor; but with ſo little Succeſs, that the Prey they brought home was ſo diſproportionable to the Number that were to feed on't, that we had hardly every one a Mouthful. Happy the Man that once in four and twenty Hours cou'd get ſo much as a Sup of Broath.

This put *Picard* and my ſelf upon hunting after Gooſeberries, and other wild Fruits, which often did us more harm than good. And I am confident, that had it not been for my Orvietan-Powder, which in a great meaſure corrected the bad Nutriment which we took in, our Lives had been in great Danger. This extreme Want, made us take a Reſo-

lution, upon *Michael Ako*'s refuſing to accompany us, to venture our ſelves in a little ſorry Canou as far as the River *Ouiſconſin*, which was at no leſs diſtance from us than 130 Leagues, to ſee if the Sieur *de Salle* had kept his Word with us: For he had promis'd us poſitively to ſend Men with Powder, and Lead, and other Merchandizes, to the place which I have already mention'd: And of this he aſſured me [185] more than once, before his departure from the *Illinois*.

The Savages wou'd never have ſuffer'd us to have made this Voyage, without one of the three being left with them: And my ſelf was the Man they pitch'd upon to ſtay, by the Advice of the great Captain *Ouaſicoude*, whilſt the two Canou-Men were at liberty to proceed on their Voyage. But *Michael Ako*, who was apprehenſive of the many Hardſhips he was like to meet with in this Expedition, could never be prevail'd upon to conſent to it: So that ſeeing he began to reliſh the Barbarians way of living, I deſir'd their Chief, that I might have leave to accompany *Picard* in his ſtead; who accordingly granted my Requeſt.

Our whole Equipage conſiſted of fifteen or twenty Charges of Powder, a Fuſil, a little ſorry Earthen Pot, which the Barbarians gave us, a Knife between us both, and a Garment of Caſtor. Thus were we equipt for a Voyage of 250 Leagues; but our greateſt Truſt was in Providence. As we were carrying our little Canou to the Fall of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, we perceiv'd five or ſix Savages, who were got there before us. One of them was got up into an Oak over againſt the great Fall of Water, where he was weeping moſt

bitterly, having faſten'd to one of the Branches of the Tree, a Robe of Caſtor, which was white within-ſide, and garniſh'd with Porcupine.

The poor Wretch had offer'd it in Sacrifice to the Fall; which, indeed, of it ſelf is terrible, and hath ſomething in it very aſtoniſhing: However, it doth not come near that of *Niagara*. I could hear him ſay, as he was addreſſing himſelf to the Caſcade, with Tears in his Eyes; *Thou art a Spirit, grant that Thoſe of my Nation may paſs here without any Diſaſter; That we may meet with a great many wild Bulls; and that we may be ſo happy as to vanquiſh our Enemy, and take a great many Slaves, whom, when we have made* [168, *i. e.* 186] *them ſuffer according to their Merits, we will bring hither, and ſlay in thy Preſence. The* Meſſenacks ('tis ſo they call the Nation of the *Outtouagami's*) *have ſlain ſome of our Kindred: Grant we may be able to revenge our ſelves upon 'em for that Affront.*

The laſt part of his Requeſt hapned to be fulfill'd ſooner, I believe, than he expected: For as they return'd from hunting the wild Bulls, they attack'd their Enemy, kill'd a good many of them, and carry'd off ſeveral Slaves, whom they put to death before the Fall, after the moſt barbarous and inhumane manner in the World, as we ſhall ſee in the *Second Volume*. Now if after ſuch a barbarous Ceremony as I have been deſcribing, it happen but once that the Succeſs anſwers the Requeſt, 'tis ſufficient to render them obſtinate in their ſuperſtitious Cuſtom, tho' it miſcarry a hundred times for once that it hits. As for the Caſtor-Robe, which

was thus offer'd as a ſort of Sacrifice, one of our *Europeans* made bold with it at his return, and wou'd have been glad of having more frequent Opportunities of profiting by their Devotions.

When we had got about a League below the Fall, *Picard* miſs'd his Powder-Horn, and remembring he had left it there, was forc'd to go back and fetch it. At his Return I ſhew'd him a huge Serpent, as big as a Man's Leg, and ſeven or eight Foot long. She was working her ſelf inſenſibly up a ſteep craggy Rock, to get at the Swallows Neſts which are there in great Numbers: And at the Bottom of the Mountain we ſaw the Feathers of thoſe ſhe had already devour'd. We pelted her ſo long with Stones, till at length ſhe fell into the River. Her Tongue which was in form of a Lance, was of an extraordinary length. Her Hiſs might be heard a great way, and the Noiſe of it ſeiz'd us with Horror. Poor *Picard* dreamt of her at Night, and was in a great Agony [187] all the while. He told me, I had done him a ſenſible Kindneſs in waking him; for though he was a Man intrepid enough, yet he was all in a ſweat with the fright of his Dream. I have likewiſe my ſelf been often diſturb'd in my Sleep with the Image of her; ſo great an Impreſſion did the ſight of this Monſter make upon our Spirits.

As we were falling down the River *Meſchaſipi* with extraordinary Swiftneſs, becauſe the Current is very rapid in this place, by reaſon 'tis ſo near the Fall, we found ſome of the Savages of our Band, in the Iſlands of the River, where they had ſet up their Cabins, and were well provided with Bulls

Fleſh. They offer'd us very freely of what they had. But about two Hours after our landing, we thought we ſhould have been all murder'd: Fifteen or ſixteen Savages came into the middle of the Place where we were, with their great Clubs in their Hands. The firſt thing they did was to over-ſet the Cabin of thoſe that had invited us. Then they took away all their Victuals, and what Bears-Oil they could find in their Bladders, or elſewhere, with which they rubb'd themſelves all over from Head to Foot.

We took them at firſt for Enemies; and *Picard* was very near ſticking the firſt that came in with his Sword. At the firſt ſurprize, I began to lay hold of the two Pocket-Piſtols that *du Gay* had left me; but by good luck I contain'd my ſelf, or otherwiſe, without doubt, there had been an end of us; for their Companions would not have fail'd to have reveng'd upon us the Death of thoſe we had kill'd.

We knew not what theſe Savages were at firſt; but it appear'd they were ſome of thoſe that we had left above at the Fall of St. *Anthony*. One of them, who call'd himſelf my Uncle, told me, that thoſe who had given us Victuals, had done baſely to go and foreſtal the others in the Chaſe; and that according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of their [188] Country, 'twas lawful for them to plunder them, ſince they had been the cauſe that the Bulls were all run away, before the Nation could get together, which was a great Injury to the Publick; For when they are all met, they make a great Slaughter amongſt the Bulls; for they ſurround them ſo on every ſide, that 'tis impoſſible for them to eſcape.

CHAP. LX.

The Hunting of the Tortoiſe. The Author's Canow is carry'd off by a ſudden blaſt of Wind, which was like to have reduc'd him and his Companion to great Streights.

IN about threeſcore Leagues rowing, we had kill'd but one wild-Goat, which we did as ſhe was croſſing the River. The Heats were now grown ſo exceſſive, that our Proviſions would be ſpoil'd in twenty four Hours. This put us upon Hunting the Tortoiſe; but 'twas with much difficulty that we could take any; for being very quick of hearing, they would throw themſelves into the Water upon the leaſt noiſe. However, we took one at laſt, which was much larger than any we had ſeen: His Shell was thin, and the Fleſh very fat. Whilſt I was contriving to cut off his Head, he had like to have been before-hand with me, by ſnapping of my Finger with his Teeth, which are very ſharp.

Whilſt we were managing this Affair, we had halled our Canou a-ſhoar; but it ſeems a ſudden and violent Blaſt of Wind had carry'd her off again into the middle of the River. *Picard* was gone into the Meadows, to ſee if he could kill a wild Bull; ſo that I was left alone with the Canou. This oblig'd me to throw my Habit as faſt as I could over the Tortoiſe, which I had turn'd, for fear he ſhould get [189]

away. I likewiſe laid ſeveral Stones upon my Clothes, the better to ſecure him. When I had done, I fell a ſwimming after our Canow, which went very faſt down the River, being carry'd by a very quick Stream, becauſe 'twas juſt at the turning of a Point. After I had recover'd it with a great deal of difficulty, I durſt not get into it, for fear of being overſet, and wetting the Woollen Coverlet that was in it, which I us'd to ſleep on, and the reſt of our little Equipage: For which reaſon I was forc'd to puſh it ſometimes before me, and ſometimes tug it after me, till by little and little I gain'd the Shoar, a ſmall half quarter of a League below the Place where I had left the Tortoiſe.

Picard returning from the Chace, where he had kill'd nothing; and finding only my Habit upon the Tortoiſe, but no Canow, had reaſon to think that ſome Savage or other having found me alone, had kill'd me. In great ſuſpence, he return'd into the Meadows, to look about if he could ſee any body. In the mean time, I had made what haſte I cou'd up the River with my Canow; and had no ſooner, taken up my Clothes, but I 'ſpy'd a Drove of ſixty Bulls and Cows, with their Calves, croſſing the River, towards the Land on the South-ſide. I purſu'd them in my Canow, and ſet up as great a Cry as I could, to give *Picard* notice of it. He made up to the Noiſe, and had time enough to get into the Canow, whilſt a Dog which we had with us, by his Barking, had drove them to a Bay in the Iſles of the River. When we were prepared, the Dog drove them from thence; and as they paſs'd by us, *Picard* kill'd one of them with his Fuſil, having lodg'd

the Bullet in his Head. Having dragg'd it to the ſide of the River, it prov'd to be a Cow, that weigh'd about five or ſix hundred weight. The Bulls have more Fleſh, and weigh heavier; but becauſe we could not get it quite to Land, we contented our [190] ſelves with cutting the beſt Pieces, and left the reſt in the Water.

'Twas almoſt now eight and forty Hours ſince we eat laſt; ſo that we fell a kindling a Fire as faſt as we could, which we made of the Wood the River had thrown upon the Sands; and as faſt as *Picard* skinn'd it, I put the Pieces of Fleſh into our little earthen Pot to boil. We eat of it with that greedineſs, that both of us were ſick; ſo that we were oblig'd to hide our ſelves in an Iſland, where we reſted two Days for the recovery of our Health by the help of my *Orvietan*, which was a great Benefit to us during the whole Voyage. Whilſt I was fetching the Pieces of Fleſh which *Picard* gave me, I went backward and forward very often cloſe by a Rattle-Snake, ſeven or eight Foot long, without perceiving him, as he lay wrapt aſleep in the Sun. I told *Picard* of it, who came and kill'd him with our Oar, and afterwards threw him into the River.

To be ſhort, we could not charge our ſelves with much Proviſions, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of our Canow; beſides that, the exceſſive Heat tainted it preſently, ſo that 'twou'd ſwarm with Worms in an inſtant. For theſe Reaſons we were ſoon in the ſame condition; and when we embark'd in the Morning, we knew not whether we ſhou'd have any thing to eat at Night. Never had we more reaſon to admire the

Goodneſs of Providence, than during this Voyage. 'Twas not every Day we met with any Game, nor when we did, were we ſure to kill it.

The Eagles, which are to be ſeen in abundance in theſe vaſt Countries, will ſometimes drop a Breme, a large Carp, or ſome other Fiſh, as they are carrying them to their Neſts in their Talons, to feed their young. One day we 'ſpy'd an Otter, which was feeding on a great Fiſh upon the Bank of the River; which Fiſh had upon its Head a ſort of [191] Beak about five Inches broad, and a Foot and a half long. As ſoon as *Picard* 'ſpy'd it, he cry'd out he ſaw the Devil between the Claws of the Otter. This Surprize was not ſo great, but that we made bold to feed heartily upon it. The Fleſh of it was good; and we nam'd it the Sturgeon with the long Beak.[1]

[1] See p. 219, *note* 1, *ante*.—Ed.

CHAP. LXI.

We continue our Courſe in ſearch of the River Ouiſconſin. Aquipaguetin *finds us, and gets thither before us. We ſubſiſt meerly by Providence.*

NOTWITHSTANDING we had row'd ſo many Leagues, yet cou'd we not find the River of *Ouiſconſin:* This made us believe that it was ſtill at a great diſtance from us; when behold *Aquipaguetin*, whom we believ'd to be above 200 Leagues off, appear'd all on a ſudden, with ten Warriors with him, towards the middle of *July*, 1680. We thought at firſt he came to kill us, becauſe we had quitted him, though 'twere by the conſent of the other Savages: But he gave us ſome wild Oats, with a Piece of good Bull's Fleſh; and ask'd us if we had found the *Europeans* who were to meet us with their Merchandiſe. Our Anſwer not ſatisfying him, he was reſolv'd to go to *Ouiſconſin* himſelf; but when he came there, found no body. He return'd at the end of three Days, as we were ſtill purſuing our Voyage, being reſolv'd to acquit our ſelves fully of the Promiſe which we had made the Sieur *de Salle*, to come thither and meet thoſe that he ſhould ſend.

When *Aquipaguetin* firſt appear'd at his return, *Picard* was gone to Hunt in the Meads, and my ſelf remain'd alone in a little Cabin, which [192] we had ſet up under our Coverlet,

which one of the Savages had return'd me, to ſhade us from the Sun-beams, which were very ſcorching at this Seaſon. *Aquipaguetin* ſeeing me alone, came up to me with his Club in his Hand: I immediately laid hold of my two Pocket-Piſtols and a Knife, which *Picard* had recover'd out of the Hands of the Barbarians. I had no mind to kill the Man that had adopted me, but only frighten him, and keep him from murdering me, in caſe that were his intent.

Aquipaguetin began to reprimand me for expoſing my ſelf in the manner I did to the Inſults of their Enemies; and that at leaſt I ought to have kept the other ſide of the River. He would have carry'd me with him, telling me, that he had 300 Hunters with him, who kill'd more Game than thoſe that I was engag'd with. And probably it had been more adviſeable for me to have follow'd his Advice, than to proſecute my Voyage any farther. However, our Reſolution then was, to continue our courſe towards the River *Ouiſconſin;* where when we came, we found none of the Men the Sieur *de la Salle* had promis'd to ſend us. *Picard* and my ſelf had like to have periſh'd on a thouſand different Occaſions, as we came down the River: And now we found our ſelves oblig'd to go up it again, which could not be done without repeating the ſame Hazards, and other Difficulties not to be imagin'd.

[193] CHAP. LXII.

The great Streights which the Author and his Companion are reduc'd to in their Voyage. They at laſt meet again with the Savages at their return from Hunting.

PICARD, who had been very ill us'd by the Savages, had rather venture all than go up the River with *Aquipaguetin*. Six Charges of Powder was all that we had left, which oblig'd us to huſband it as well as we could; wherefore we divided it into twenty, to ſhoot only for the future at Turtles or Wild Pigeons. When theſe alſo were ſpent, we had recourſe to three Hooks, which we baited with ſome ſtinking Barbel that an Eagle hapned to drop. We took nothing the two firſt Days, and were deſtirute of all means of ſubſiſtence, This made us, you muſt think, betake our ſelves to Prayers with greater fervency than ever. And yet *Picard*, 'midſt all our Misfortunes, could not forbear telling me, that he ſhould pray to God with a much better Heart if his Belly were full.

I comforted both him and my ſelf as well as I could, and deſir'd him to row with all the force he had left, to ſee if we could catch a Tortoiſe. The next Morning, having row'd the beſt part of the Night, we found a Tortoiſe, which was no bigger than an ordinary Plate. We went to boiling him the ſame Minute on the Fire that we had kindled. We

devour'd it ſo haſtily, that I did not obſerve that I cut the Gall, which made my Mouth as bitter as it ſelf; but I ran immediately and gargled my Throat, and ſo fell to't again, with the ſame eagerneſs as before.

Notwithſtanding our famiſh'd Condition, we got at laſt to the *River of Bulls* [Buffalo River]: Here we caſt our Hooks, which we baited with a white Fiſh that an Eagle [194] had let fall. God, who never abandons thoſe that truſt in him, ſuccour'd us very viſibly on this occaſion; for we had ſcarce finiſh'd our Prayers towards ten at Night, when *Picard*, who heard the Noiſe, quitted his Devotion, and ran to the Hooks, where he found two Barbels hung, which were ſo large, that I was forc'd to help him to get them out of the Water. We did not ſtand to ſtudy what Sauce we ſhould make for theſe monſtrous Fiſh, which weigh'd above twenty five pound both; but having cut them to pieces, broil'd 'em on the Coals. Boil them we could not, our little Earthen Pot being unhappily broke ſome time before.

When we had ſatisfy'd our Appetite, and return'd our Thanks to Him, whoſe Providence had ſo ſeaſonably reliev'd us, we heard a noiſe about two in the Morning, upon the Bank of the *River of Bulls*, where we then were. After the *Who-goes-there?* we heard the Anſwer was, *Tepatoni Nika*, and the Word *Nikanagi;* which is as much as to ſay, *Friends, all is well.* I told *Picard*, that by the Language I believ'd them to be *Illinois*, or *Outouagamis*, who are Enemies of the *Iſſati*, or *Nadoueſſans*. But the Moon ſhining very bright, and the Day beginning to appear, I perceiv'd 'twas the Savage

Mameniſi, whoſe Infant-Daughter I Baptiz'd, when *Picard* aſſiſted as Godfather, or Witneſs. He knew us again preſently; and being juſt come from Hunting, where they had had plenty of Game, he gave us what Victuals we pleas'd; and inform'd us, that all thoſe of his Nation were coming down the *River of Bulls*, which diſcharges it ſelf into the *Meſchaſipi*, having their Wives and Children with them.

What he ſaid was true; for the Savages, with whom *Michael Ako* had ſtaid behind, were all deſcending the *River of Bulls* with their Fleet of Canow's well ſtor'd with Proviſions. *Aquipaguetin* by the way had acquainted thoſe of his Nation, how [195] *Picard* and my ſelf had expos'd our ſelves in our Voyage to *Ouiſconſin*, and what great Hazards we had ran. The Chiefs of the Savages gave us to underſtand, that they were very well ſatisfi'd with what we had done: But all of them reproach'd *Michael Ako* for a Baſe Fellow, who had refus'd to accompany us for fear of being famiſh'd by the way. *Picard* too, but that I did what I could to hinder it, would have us'd him ill before all the Company, ſo incens'd was he againſt him, for his want of Courage and Affection.

CHAP. LXIII.

The Savage Women hide their Proviſions up-and-down in private Holes. They go down the River again a ſecond time. Addreſs of the Savages. Bravery of one of the Savages.

THE Savage Women being come to the Mouth of the *River of Bulls*, hid their Proviſions up-and-down the little Iſlands that are there, and in hollow Places under-ground. Theſe People have a way to preſerve their Meat thus, without Salt, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. We fell down the River a ſecond time, in company of a multitude of Canow's, of which I have already ſpoke, Hunting all the way as we went, and were got a matter of fourſcore Leagues. The Savages from time to time hid their Canows in the little Iſland, or in the Reeds upon the Bank of the River, and went ſeven or eight Leagues up the Country into the Meadows beyond the Mountains, where at ſeveral times they kill'd between an hundred and ſixſcore Cows and Bulls. Whilſt they are at the Chaſe, they always leave ſome Old Men on the top of the Mountains, to ſee if they can diſcover the Enemy.

All this while I had a Savage under my Cure, who uſually call'd me Brother: He had run a [196] Thorn very deep into his Foot, and I was then putting a Plaiſter on it, when on a ſudden the Alarm was taken in our Camp. Two hundred

Archers immediately ran to ſee what was the matter; and the generous Savage, whoſe Foot I had laid open, in order to get out the Thorn, which was very deep, ſprung likewiſe from me on a ſudden, and ran as faſt as the beſt, that he might not loſe his ſhare in the Action. But inſtead of the Enemy, they could ſee nothing but about an hundred Stags, which were running away as faſt as they could. My poor Patient had much ado to recover the Camp. All the while the Alarm laſted, the Women and Maids kept ſinging in a very ſad and melancholy Tone.

Picard being gone to his Hoſt, I was left alone with one *Otchimbi;* but after the ſecond Hunting, I was forc'd to carry an Old Woman with me in my Canow, who was above four-ſcore: For all that, ſhe help'd me to row, and with her Oar would now-and-then pat two or three little Children, that lay and diſturb'd us in the middle of our Canow. The Men were very kind to me; but for all that, 'twas neceſſary to make a Court to the Women; for the Victuals were all in their Cuſtody, who deliver'd every one his Meſs. This I did by ſhaving now-and-then the Crowns of their Children's Heads, who wear their Hair ſhorn not unlike our Monks. They let it grow till they are fifteen, ſixteen, or eighteen Years old, as well on the top of the Head, as elſewhere; but at that Age, their Parents take it off, by burning it with flat ſtones made red-hot in the Fire: So that the Women thought themſelves mightily beholding to me for ſhaving their Children, becauſe I took off the Hair without pain.

We had again another Alarm in our Camp: The Old

Men, who had their Station on the top of the Mountains, ſent to give notice that they had deſcry'd ſome Warriors from afar. The Archers [197] ran as hard as they could drive, towards the Place where the Enemy was ſaid to appear, every one endeavouring to be firſt in the Action. But after all this Noiſe, they brought nothing back with them but two Women of their own Nation, who were come to acquaint them that one of their Parties being gone a Hunting, towards the end of the Upper Lake, had light upon five Spirits, by which Name it is they call the *Europeans*. They added, That theſe Spirits had talk'd to 'em, by means of ſome of their Nation who had ſeen us, and had been Slaves amongſt the *Outouagamis* and *Iroqueſe*, whoſe Language they underſtood: That they had alſo deſir'd them to conduct them to the Place where we were, becauſe they ſhould be very glad to know whether we were *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, *Spaniards*, or *Canadians:* And farther, That they could not imagine how we had been able to penetrate ſo far up into the Country amongſt theſe People.

I muſt obſerve hereupon, that there are certain Perſons at *Canada*, who have got the Management of all Affairs there into their hands, as I have elſewhere ſaid. Theſe People being very angry, that we had been aforehand with them in our Diſcoveries, had ſent Men after us to ſhare in the Glory of the Action: For they hoped by our Means to get a Knowledge of the Nations which we had ſeen, in order to Trade thither, as ſoon as they ſhould have a Pretence of ſending us back to *Europe*.

[198] CHAP. LXIV.

Arrival of the Sieur Du Luth *in our Camp. He deſires us to return with him and his Followers to the Country of the* Iſſati *and* Nadoueſſians. *The Author caſt my Coverlet over a dead Man. The Savages are pleas'd at it.*

THE 28th of *July*, 1680, we began to aſcend the River *Meſchaſipi* the third time. The Savages, who had made a grand Hunt with good Succeſs, were reſolv'd to return home to their own Villages, and preſs'd us to go with them; promiſing to conduct us as far as the Nations that inhabited at the End of the Upper-Lake [Lake Superior]. They ſaid they had a deſign to make an Alliance with thoſe People through our Means. The Sieur *du Luth*[1] was arriv'd there from *Canada*, accompany'd with five Men, whoſe Equipage was half Soldier, half Merchant.

They came up to us in company with the two Savage-Women an hundred and twenty Leagues, or thereabouts, from the Country of the *Barbarians*, that had taken us.

[1] Daniel Greysolon du Luth (Lhut) was especially prominent among Northwestern explorers. An officer in the army of France, he came to Canada about 1676; two years later, he conducted a French expedition into the Sioux country, of which he took formal possession (1679) for France. He spent nearly ten years in explorations (mainly beyond Lake Superior) and fur-trading; he was for a time commandant of the Northwest. In 1689, he had returned to the St. Lawrence; he died in 1710.—Ed.

They deſir'd us, becauſe we had ſome knowledge of the Language of the *Iſſati*, to accompany them back to the Villages of thoſe People. I readily agreed to their requeſt, eſpecially when I underſtood that they had not receiv'd the Sacraments in the whole two Years and a half that they had been out upon their Voyage. The Sieur *du Luth*, who paſs'd for their Captain, was overjoy'd to ſee me, and told me as a Secret, that thoſe who had ſent him, wou'd miſs of their aim, as he wou'd let me know more at leiſure. And obſerving how I ſhav'd the Crowns of the Young Savages, he order'd them to be told I was his eldeſt Brother.

[199] All this made the Savages treat me better than ever, and furniſh me very plentifully with proviſions. I apply'd my ſelf alſo more than ever to the means of their Salvation; and 'tis true they hearken'd to me attentively enough. But then, to make any progreſs, one muſt live whole Years amongſt them, they are ſo ignorant, and grounded in Superſtition.

The Sieur *du Luth* was charm'd at the ſight of the Fall of *St. Anthony of Padua*, which was the Name we had given it, and in all appearance will remain with it.[1] I alſo ſhew'd him the craggy Rock, where the monſtrous Serpent was climbing up to devour the young Swallows in their Neſts; and re-

[1] In the *Louisiane* (p. 200), Hennepin makes the Falls of St. Anthony "forty or fifty feet in height." Carver (*Travels*, p. 69) says that the perpendicular fall is thirty feet, with a considerable descent besides in the lower rapids; see the engraving at p. 70, representing the falls as seen by him in 1766. But little now remains of this noble cataract: the rock over which it falls, a soft sandstone, has been gradually worn away by the action of the water; and the utilization of the swift current for manufacturing purposes has aided the work of destruction.— Ed.

counted to him the Horror that ſeiz'd *Picard*, at the Image his Fancy fram'd of that terrible Animal in his Dream.

I muſt here obſerve, that ſeeing my ſelf at Liberty to ſay my Office after the Arrival of the Sieur *du Luth*, to be more exact in the Service, I thought I wou'd ask him the Day of the Month: He told me as freely, he cou'd not ſatisfy me in that Point, for he had no Notion of it left. Upon this I recounted to him the ill uſage which we receiv'd at the Hands of the *Barbarians*, at their firſt taking us, which proceeded many times ſo far as to threaten our Lives; that therefore he ought not to be ſurpriz'd, if through the Terrors and Apprehenſions which I had lain ſo long under, I had forgot even the Day of the Week.

We arriv'd at the Villages of the *Iſſati* on the 14*th* of *Auguſt*, 1680, where I found my *Chalice* very ſafe, with the Books and Papers which I had hid under-ground, in preſence of the Savages themſelves. Theſe Wretches had never had ſo much as a thought to meddle with them, being fearful and ſuperſtitious in relation to Spirits, and believing there is Witchcraft in everything they cannot apprehend. [200] The Tobacco which I planted before our Departure, was half choak'd with Graſs. But the Cabbage, and other things which I had ſown, were of a prodigious growth. The Stalks of the Purſlain were as big as Reeds: But the Savages were afraid ſo much as to taſte them.

A little after our return, the Savages invited us to a great Feaſt after their own faſhion. There were above an hundred and twenty Men at it naked. *Ouaſicoude*, the firſt Captain of

the Nation, and Kinſman of the Deceas'd, whoſe dead Body I cover'd when they brought him back to the Village in a Canow, brought me ſome dry'd Fleſh and wild Oats in a diſh of Bark, which he ſet before me upon a Bull's Hide, whiten'd, and garniſh'd with Porcupine Skins on the one ſide, and curl'd Wooll on the other.

After I had eat, this Chief put the ſame Robe on my Head, and cover'd my Face with it, ſaying with a loud Voice before all that were preſent, *He whoſe dead Body thou didſt cover, covers thine while alive. He has carry'd the Tydings of it to the Country of Souls*, (for theſe People believe the Tranſmigration of Souls:) *What thou didſt in reſpect of the Dead, is highly to be eſteem'd: All the Nation applauds and thanks thee for it.*

After this he gently reproach'd the Sieur *du Luth*, that he did not cover the Dead, as I had done. To which the Sieur deſir'd me to anſwer, That he never cover'd the Bodies of any but ſuch Captains as himſelf. To which the Savage anſwer'd, *Father* Louis (for ſo he heard the *Europeans* call me) *is a greater Captain than thou: His Robe* (ſpeaking of my Brocard Chaſuble, which they had taken from me, and was afterwards ſent as a Preſent to our Allies who liv'd three Moons diſtance from this Country) *was finer than what thou weareſt.*

When theſe Savages ſpeak of a Journey of three or more Moons, they mean Months. They march well, and will travel fifteen Leagues a Day. By [201] which the Reader may judge what an extent of Ground they can go in three Month.

CHAP. LXV.

The Author takes his leave of the Savages to return to Canada. *A Savage is ſlain by his Chief, for adviſing to kill us. Diſpute between the Sieur* du Luth *and the Author, about the Sacrifice of Barbarians.*

TOWARDS the end of *September*, ſeeing we had no Tools proper to build a Houſe to dwell in during the Winter, amongſt theſe People; and conſidering that we were deſtitute of Proviſions neceſſary to subſiſt there, as our Deſign was at firſt to have done, we reſolv'd to let them underſtand, that to procure them Iron, and other Merchandizes, which were uſeful for them, 'twas convenient that we ſhou'd return to *Canada*, and that at a certain time which we ſhou'd agree upon between us, they ſhou'd come half the way with their Furrs, and we the other half with our *European* Commodities: That they might let two of their Warriors go with us, whom we wou'd carry into our Country, and likewiſe bring back again the next Year to the place appointed for meeting, from whence they might proceed to acquaint them of our return, in order to their meeting us with their Effects.

Upon this they held a great Council, to conſider whether they ſhou'd ſend ſome of their Nation with us or no. Two there were who were for it, and offer'd themſelves to be the

Men: But they alter'd their Opinion the Day of our Departure, alledging for a Reaſon, That we were obliged to paſs through many Nations who were their ſworn Enemies, and wou'd be ſure to ſeize their Men, and take them out of our Hands, either to burn them, or put them [202] otherwiſe to Death by exquiſite Torments, and that without our being able to hinder it, being ſo few in Number as we were.

I anſwer'd, That all thoſe People, whom they were afraid of, were our Friends and Allies, and that in conſideration of us, they wou'd forbear to injure any of their Nation that were with us. Theſe Barbarians want no Wit; on the contrary, their Natural Parts are extraordinary. They told us in return, that ſince we were to paſs through theſe People, who were their ſworn Enemies, we ſhou'd do well to deſtroy them, at whoſe Hands they had receiv'd ſo many Injuries; that then their Men ſhou'd go and return with us to fetch them Iron, and other Commodities which they wanted, and wou'd gladly treat with us about. From whence we may gather, that theſe Barbarians are full of Reſentment, and Thoughts of Revenge, Diſpoſitions not altogether ſo well prepar'd, to receive the meek Doctrine of the Goſpel.

In fine, *Ouaſicoude* their Chief Captain, having conſented to our Return, in a full Council, gave us ſome Buſhels of Wild-Oats, for our Subſiſtence by the way, having firſt regal'd us in the beſt manner he cou'd, after their faſhion. We have already obſerv'd, that theſe Oats are better and more wholſome than Rice. After this, with a Pencil, he mark'd down on a Sheet of Paper, which I had left, the Courſe that we were

to keep for four hundred Leagues together. In ſhort, this natural Geographer deſcrib'd our Way ſo exactly, that this Chart ſerv'd us as well as my Compaſs cou'd have done. For by obſerving it punctually, we arriv'd at the Place which we deſign'd, without loſing our way in the leaſt.

All things being ready, we diſpos'd our ſelves to depart, being eight *Europeans* of us in all. We put [203] our ſelves into two Canows, and took our leaves of our Friends, with a Volly of our Men's Fuſils, which put them into a terrible Fright. We fell down the River of St. *Francis*, and then that of the *Meſchaſipi*. Two of our Men, without ſaying anything, had taken down two Robes of Caſtor, from before the Fall of St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, where the Barbarians had hung them upon a Tree as a ſort of Sacrifice. Hereupon aroſe a Diſpute between the Sieur *du Luth* and my ſelf. I commended what they had done, ſaying, *The Barbarians might judge by it, that we diſapprov'd their Superſtition.* On the contrary, the Sieur *du Luth* maintain'd, That they ought to have let the things alone in that place where they were, for that the Savages wou'd not fail to revenge the Affront which we had put upon them by this Action, and that it was to be fear'd leſt they ſhou'd purſue and inſult us by the Way.

I own he had ſome grounds for what he ſaid, and that he argu'd according to the Rules of Humane Prudence. But the two Men anſwer'd him bluntly, that the things fitted them, and therefore they ſhou'd not trouble their Heads about the Savages, nor their Superſtitions. The Sieur *du Luth* fell into ſo violent a Paſſion at theſe Words, that he had like to have

ſtruck the Fellow that ſpake them; but I got between, and reconcil'd the Matter: For *Picard* and *Michael Ako* began to ſide with thoſe that had taken away the things in queſtion, which might have prov'd of ill conſequence. I aſſur'd the Sieur *du Luth*, that the Savages durſt not hurt us, for that I was perſuaded their Grand Captain *Ouaſicoude* wou'd always make our Cauſe his own, and that we might rely on his Word, and the great Credit he had amongſt thoſe of his Nation. Thus the Buſineſs was peaceably made up, and we ſailed [204] down the River together as good Friends as ever, hunting the Wild-Beaſts as we went.

When we were got almoſt as far as the River *Ouiſconſin*, we made a ſtop, to ſmoak after the manner of the Country, the Fleſh of the Bulls which we had kill'd by the Way. During our ſtay here, for the Reaſon aforeſaid, three Savages of the ſame Nation, which we had lately left, came up to us in their Canow, to acquaint us that their Grand Captain *Ouaſicoude* having learnt that another Chief of the ſame Nation had a Deſign to purſue and murder us, he came into the Cabin where the ſaid Captain and his Aſſociates were conſulting about it, and gave him a Blow on the Head with ſo much Fury, that his Brains flew out upon thoſe that were preſent at the Conſult, reſolving by this means effectually to prevent the Execution of his pernicious Deſign. We regal'd the three Savages for their good News very nobly, having plenty of Proviſions at that time.

The Sieur *du Luth*, as ſoon as the Savages were gone, fell into as great a Paſſion as before, and ſeem'd very apprehenſive

leſt they ſhou'd ſtill purſue and ſet upon us in our Voyage. He wou'd have carri'd Matters farther, but that he found our Men wou'd not bate him an Ace, and were not in an Humour to be bulli'd. I took upon me to moderate the Matter once more, and pacifi'd them in the End, by aſſuring them that God wou'd not leave us in Diſtreſs, provided we put our Truſt in him, and that he was able to deliver us from all our Enemies.

[205] CHAP. LXVI.

The Sieur du Luth *is in a great Conſternation at the Appearance of a Fleet of the Savages, who ſurprized us before we were got into the River* Ouiſconſin.

THE Sieur *du Luth* had reaſon to believe that the three Savages but now mention'd were really Spies ſent to obſerve our Actions; for indeed they knew that we had taken away the Robes of Caſtor from before the Fall of *St. Anthony*. He cou'd not forego his Fears, but told me, we ſhould ſerve the Fellow that did it but right, if we ſhou'd force him to carry them back, and leave them in the place where he found them. I foreſaw Diſcord wou'd be our Deſtruction, and ſo made my ſelf Mediator of the Peace once more. I appeas'd the Fray, by remonſtrating, That God who had preſerv'd us hitherto in the greateſt Dangers, wou'd have a more peculiar Care of us on this Occaſion, becauſe the Man's Action was good in it ſelf.

Two days after, all our Proviſions being dreſs'd, and fit to keep, we prepar'd to depart: But the Sieur *du Luth* was mightily ſurpriz'd when he perceiv'd a Fleet of an hundred and forty Canows, carrying about an hundred and fifty Men, bearing down directly upon us. Our Mens Conſternation was

no leſs than the Sieur's: But when they ſaw me take out from amongſt our Equipage, a Calumet of Peace which the *Iſſati* had given us as a Pledge of their Friendſhip and Protection, they took Heart, and told me they wou'd act as I ſhou'd direct.

I order'd two of them to embark with me in a Canow, to meet the Savages: But the Sieur deſir'd me to take a third to row, that by ſtanding in the [106, *i. e.* 206] middle of the Canow, I might the better ſhow the Pipe of Peace, which I carry'd in my hand, to appeaſe the Barbarians, whoſe Language I underſtood indifferently well. The other four of our Men I left with the Sieur *du Luth*, and told them, in caſe any of the young Warriors ſhou'd Land, and come up to them, they ſhou'd by no means diſcourſe or be familiar with them; but that they ſhould keep their Poſts with their Arms ready fixt. Having given theſe Orders, I went into my Canow, to the Barbarians who were a coming down the River in theirs.

Seeing no Chief amongſt them, I call'd out as loud as I cou'd, *Ouaſicoude*, *Ouaſicoude*, repeating his Name ſeveral times. At laſt I perceiv'd him rowing up towards me: All this while none of his People had affronted us, which I look'd upon as a good Omen. I conceal'd my Reed of Peace, the better to let them ſee how much I rely'd upon their Word. Soon after we landed, and entred the Cabin where the Sieur *du Luth* was, who wou'd have embrac'd their Captain. Here we muſt obſerve, that 'tis not the Cuſtom of the Savages to embrace after the manner of the *French*.

I told the Sieur *du Luth* that he need only preſent him with a piece of the beſt boyl'd Meat that he had, and that in caſe he eat of it, we were ſafe.

It hapned according to our Wiſh; all the reſt of the Captains of this little Army came to viſit us. It coſt our Folks nothing but a few Pipes of *Martinico*-Tobacco, which theſe People are paſſionately fond of, though their own be ſtronger, more agreeable, and of a much better Scent. Thus the Barbarians were very civil to us, without ever mentioning the Robes of Caſtor. The Chief *Ouaſicoude* advis'd me to preſent ſome Pieces of *Martinico* Tobacco to the Chief *Aquipaguetin*, who had adopted me for his Son. This Civility had ſtrange effects upon the [207] Barbarians, who went off ſhouting, and repeating the Word *Louis*, which, as we ſaid, ſignifies the *Sun:* So that I muſt ſay without Vanity, my Name will be as it were immortal amongſt theſe People, by reaſon of its jumping ſo accidentally with that of the Sun.

CHAP. LXVII.

The Author's Voyage from the Mouth of the River Ouiſconſin, *to the great Bay of the* Puans.

THE Savages having left us to go and War upon the *Meſſorites*, *Mahoras*, *Illinois*, and other Nations, which inhabit towards the lower part of the River *Meſchaſipi*, and are irreconcilable Enemies to the People of the *North;* the Sieur *du Luth*, who upon many Occaſions approv'd himſelf to be much my Friend, cou'd not forbear telling our People, that I had all the reaſon in the World to believe that the Viceroy of *Canada* wou'd give me a very kind Reception, in caſe we cou'd arrive there before Winter; and that he wiſh'd with all his heart he had been among ſo many different Nations as my ſelf.

As we went up the River *Ouiſconſin*, we found it was as large as that of the *Illinois*, which is navigable for large Veſſels above an hundred Leagues. We cou'd not ſufficiently admire the Extent of thoſe vaſt Countries, and the Charming Lands through which we paſs'd, which lye all untill'd. The cruel Wars which theſe Nations have one with another, are the cauſe that they have not People enough to cultivate them. And the more bloody Wars which have rag'd ſo long in all parts of *Europe*, have hinder'd the ſending Chriſtian

Colonies to ſettle there. However, I muſt needs ſay, that the poorer ſort of [208] our Countrymen wou'd do well to think of it, and go and plant themſelves in this fine Country, where for a little Pains in tilling the Earth, they wou'd live happier, and ſubſiſt much better than they do here. I have ſeen Lands there, which wou'd yield three Crops in a Year: And the Air is incomparably more ſweet and temperate than in *Holland*.

After we had row'd about ſeventy Leagues upon the River *Ouiſconſin*, we came to a Place where we were forc'd to carry our Canow for half a League, which *Ouaſicoude* had ſet down in his Chart.[1] We lay at this place all Night, and left Marks of our having been there, by the Croſſes which we cut on the Barks of the Trees. Next Day, having carri'd our Canows and the reſt of our little Equipage over this Piece of Land, we entred into a River, which makes almoſt as many Meanders as that of the *Illinois* doth at its Riſe: For after ſix Hours rowing, which we did very faſt, we found our ſelves, notwithſtanding all the Pains we had been at, over-againſt the Place where we embark'd. One of our Men muſt needs ſhoot at a Bird flying, which overſet his Canow; but by good luck he was within his depth.

We were forc'd to break ſeveral Sluces which the Caſtors had made for our Canows to paſs; otherwiſe we cou'd not

[1] The narrow portage between the waters of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, at the site of the present Portage, Wis., which lies 145 miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin. Along the old portage-trail has been cut a government ship-canal, which unites the waters of the two rivers.—Ed.

have continued our Way, or carri'd our things to embark them again above theſe Sluces.

Theſe Creatures make them with ſo much Art, that Man cannot equal it. We ſhall ſpeak of them in our *Second Volume*. We found ſeveral of theſe Ponds, or Stops of Water, which theſe Creatures make with Pieces of Wood, like a Cauſey.[1]

After this we paſs'd over four Lakes, which are all made by this River. Here formerly dwelt the *Miamis;* but now the *Maskoutens*, *Kikapous*, and *Outoagamis*, who ſow their *Indian* Wheat[2] here, on [209] which they chiefly ſubſiſt. We made ſome Broath of the Water of a certain Fall, which they call *Kakalin*[3]; becauſe the Savages come often hither to eaſe themſelves, and lye on their Backs, with their Faces expos'd to the Sun.

Thus having made more than Four hundred Leagues by Water ſince our departure from the Country of the *Iſſati* and *Nadoueſſans*, we arriv'd at laſt at the great Bay of the *Puans*, which makes part of the Lake of the *Illinois*.

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[1] For valuable descriptive and historical information concerning the beaver, see Horace F. Martin's *Castorologia* (Montreal, 1892).— Ed.

[2] Indian corn, originally called by European writers "wheat of India, or of Turkey."— Ed.

[3] The Grand Kakalin, or Kekaling, the name given to the rapids at the present Kaukauna, Wis., which, with the portage around them, formed a noted landmark on the Fox-Wisconsin trade-route between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. Another but smaller descent in the river is the Little Kakalin, above De Pere.— Ed.

CHAP. LXVIII.

The Author and his Company ſtay ſome time amongſt the Puans. *The Original of the Name. They celebrated Maſs here, and wintered at* Miſſilimakinak.

WE found many *Canadians* in this Bay of the *Puans*. The Nation that inhabits here, is ſo call'd, becauſe formerly they dwelt in certain Marſhy Places, full of ſtinking Waters, ſituate on the *South-Sea*. But being drove out thence by their Enemy, they came and ſettled in this Bay, which is to the Eaſt of the *Illinois*. The *Canadians* were come hither to Trade with the People of this Bay, contrary to an Order of the Viceroy. They had ſtill a little of the Wine left, which they brought with them, and kept in a Pewter Flagon. I made uſe of it for Maſs. Till now, I had nothing but a Chalice, and a Marble Altar, which was pretty light, and very handſomly engrav'd: But here by good Fortune I met with the Sacerdotal Robes too. Some *Illinois* who had happily eſcap'd their Enemies the *Iroqueſe*, who had attack'd and almoſt deſtroy'd them ſince my Voyage, and the time that I had been a Slave amongſt the Barbarians,[1] had brought with

[1] On September 10, 1680, a large force of Iroquois appeared before the Illinois village which La Salle and Hennepin had earlier visited (see end of chap. xxix). Its inhabitants fled, in fear of this merciless foe; whereupon the Iroquois destroyed the village, and, having deluded the Illinois by a pretended treaty, attacked them,

them the Ornaments of the Chapel of Father *Zenobius Mambre*, [210] whom we had left among the *Illinois*. Some of theſe, I ſay, who were eſcap'd to the Place where we were, deliver'd me up all the Ornaments of the Chapel, except the Chalice. They promis'd to get me that too for a little Tobacco, which I was to give them; and were as good as their Word, for they brought it me ſome few Days after.

'Twas more than nine Months ſince I had celebrated the Sacrament of the Maſs, for want of Wine. We might indeed have done it in our Voyage, had we had Veſſels proper to keep Wine in: But we cou'd not charge our Canow with ſuch, being very unfit to carry things of Burden. 'Tis true, we met with Grapes in many Places through which we paſs'd, and had made ſome Wine too, which we put into Gourds; but it fail'd us whilſt we were among the *Illinois*, as I have elſewhere obſerv'd. As for the reſt, I had ſtill ſome Wafers by me, which were as good as ever, having been kept in a Steel-Box ſhut very cloſe.

We ſtay'd two Days at the Bay of the *Puans;* where we ſung *Te Deum*, and my ſelf ſaid Maſs, and Preach'd. Our

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capturing nearly all the women and children of the Tamaroas, whom they tortured to death with most revolting atrocities. Tonty (who had vainly striven to pacify the Iroquois) was compelled, with the two Récollet priests and three other Frenchmen, to retreat for safety to Wisconsin. After many hardships, they finally reached friendly Pottawattomies at Green Bay. On the same day when they left the Illinois village, Father Gabriel de la Ribourde was slain by some prowling savages. See Hennepin's account of these episodes (chap. lxxiv–lxxv, *post*). There, and in the *Louisiane* (pp. 306–308), he accuses Tonty of having in panic fear abandoned the aged missionary — a statement which is refuted by the narrative of Membré, who was with Tonty at that time; see Shea's translation of Le Clercq's *Établissement de la Foy*, ii, pp. 145–147. — Ed.

Men prepar'd themſelves for the Holy Sacrament, which we receiv'd, in order to render our Thanks to God, who had preſerv'd us amidſt the many Dangers we had run, the Difficulties we had ſurmounted, and Monſters we had overcome.

One of our Canow-Men truck'd [*i. e.*, traded] a Fuſil with a Savage for a Canow larger than our own, in which, after an hundred Leagues rowing, having coaſted all along the great Bay of the *Puans*, we arriv'd at *Miſſilimakinak*, in the Lake of *Huron*, where we were forc'd to Winter: For our Way lying ſtill North, we ſhou'd infallibly have periſh'd amongſt the Ice and Snow, had we proceeded any further.

By the Courſe we were oblig'd to take, we were ſtill about Four hundred Leagues from *Canada*. Amongſt theſe People, I met, to my no little Satisfaction, [211] Father *Pierſon*, a Jeſuit, who is a Son of the King's Receiver for the Town of *Aeth* in *Hainault*.[1] He was come hither to learn their Language, and ſpoke it then paſſably well. This *Religious*, who retain'd ſtill the free and open Humour of his Countrymen, had made himſelf belov'd by his obliging Behaviour, and ſeem'd to be an utter Enemy of Caballing and Intrigues, having a candid Spirit, generous and ſincere. In a word, He appear'd to me to be ſuch as every good Chriſtian ought to be. The Reader may judge how agreeably I paſs'd the Win-

[1] Philippe Pierson came to Canada in 1666; he labored among the Hurons at Michillimackinac from 1673 to 1683, and, during the next five years, with the Sioux tribes west of Lake Superior. He died at Quebec in 1688.

It will be noticed that, save for this mention of his compatriot Pierson, Hennepin does not even mention the Jesuit mission at Michillimackinac, or that at Green Bay, both of which had entertained him as a guest.— Ed.

ter in ſuch good Company, after the Miſeries and Fatigues I had undergone in the Courſe of our Diſcoveries.

To make the beſt uſe of my time that I cou'd, I Preach'd all the Holy-days and Sundays in *Advent* and *Lent*, for the Edification of our Men, and other *Canadians*, who were come four or five Leagues out of their Country, to Trade for Furrs amongſt theſe Savages: From whence we may obſerve, that there are ſome whom I ſhall forbear to name, who notwithſtanding all their pretended Auſterities, are yet no leſs covetous of the Things of this World, than the moſt Secular Perſon in it. The *Outtaouacts* and the *Hurons* wou'd often aſſiſt at our Ceremonies in a Church cover'd with Ruſhes and a few Boards, which the *Canadians* had built here: But they came more out of Curioſity than any Deſign to conform themſelves to the Rules of our Holy Religion.

The latter of theſe Savages would tell us, ſpeaking of our Diſcoveries, That themſelves were but Men; but for us *Europeans*, we muſt needs be Spirits: That if they had gone ſo far up amongſt ſtrange Nations as we had done, they ſhould have been ſure to have been kill'd by them without Mercy; whereas we paſs'd every where without danger, and knew how to procure the Friendſhip of all we met.

During the Winter, we broke Holes in the Ice of the Lake *Huron*, and by means of ſeveral large [212] Stones, ſunk our Nets ſometimes twenty, ſometimes twenty five Fathom under Water to catch Fiſh, which we did in great abundance. We took Salmon-Trouts, which often weigh'd from forty to fifty pounds. Theſe made our *Indian* Wheat

go down the better, which was our ordinary Diet. Our Beverage was nothing but Broth made of Whiteings, which we drank hot; becauſe as it cools it turns to Jelly, as if it had been made of Veal.

During our ſtay here, Father *Pierſon* and I would often divert our ſelves on the Ice, where we skated on the Lake as they do in *Holland.* I had learn'd this Slight when I was at *Ghent*, from whence to *Bruſſels* one may run in three Hours with abundance of Pleaſure when the Canal is frozen. 'Tis the uſual Diverſion with which the Inhabitants of theſe two Cities entertain themſelves during the Winter, by favour of the Ice.

It muſt be allow'd, without reflecting on any other Order, That thoſe of St. *Francis* are very proper for the ſetling of Colonies. They make a ſtrict Vow of Poverty, and have a Property in nothing as their own: They enjoy only a ſimple Uſe of Things neceſſary to Life. Thoſe that give us any Moveables, continue ſtill to be the owners of them, and may take them again at pleaſure. 'Tis this Poverty which is recommended to us by many Popes; but above all by our Rule, which is the only one I find inſerted in the Canon-Law.

What paſs'd at *Miſſilimakinak* during this Winter, is a Proof of what I ſay. Two and forty *Canadians*, who were come hither upon the account of the Trade which they drive here with the Savages, deſir'd me to preſent them with the Cord of St. *Francis.* I compli'd with their Requeſt; and each time I deliver'd a Cord, made a ſmall Harangue by way of Exhortation to the Perſon receiving it, and then aſſociated

him to the Prayers of the Order. They [213] would have kept me with them, and made me a Settlement, where from time to time they might have reſort to me. They promis'd me moreover, ſince I would accept of no Furrs, that they would prevail with the Savages to furniſh out my Subſiſtence in the beſt manner which could be expected for the Country. But becauſe the greateſt part of them that made me this Offer, Traded into theſe Parts without permiſſion, I gave them to underſtand, That the Common Good of our Diſcoveries, ought to be preferr'd before their private Advantages; ſo deſir'd them to excuſe me, and permit me to return to *Canada* for a more Publick Good.

CHAP. LXIX.

The Author's Departure from Miſſilimakinak. *He paſſes two great Lakes. The taking of a Great Bear. Some Particulars relating to the Fleſh of that Beaſt.*

WE parted from *Miſſilimakinak* in *Eaſter*-Week, 1681, and for twelve or thirteen Leagues together, were oblig'd to draw our Proviſions and Canow's after us over the Ice, up the Lake *Huron*, the ſides of which continu'd ſtill froze five or ſix Leagues broad. The Ice being broke, we embark'd, after the Solemnity of the *Quaſimodo*,[1] which we had an opportunity to celebrate, having by good Fortune met with a little Wine, which a *Canadian* had brought with him, and ſerv'd us all the reſt of our Voyage. After we had row'd a hundred Leagues all along the ſides of the Lake *Huron*, we paſs'd the Streights, which are thirty Leagues through, and the Lake of St. *Claire*, which is in the middle: Thence we arriv'd at the Lake *Erie*, or of the *Cat*, where we ſtai'd ſome time to kill Sturgeon, which come here in great numbers, to caſt their Spawn on the [214] ſide of the Lake. We took nothing but the Belly of the Fiſh, which is the moſt delicious part, and threw away the reſt.

This Place afforded alſo plenty of Veniſon and Fowl. As

[1] The Sunday next after Easter; also called "Low Sunday" and "White Sunday."—Ed.

we were ſtanding in the Lake, upon a large Point of Land which runs it ſelf very far into the Water, we perceiv'd a Bear in it as far as we could ſee. We could not imagine how this Creature got there; 'twas very improbable that he ſhou'd ſwim from one ſide to t'other, that was thirty or forty Leagues over. It hapned to be very calm; and ſo two of our Men leaving us on the Point, put off to attack the Bear, that was near a quarter of a League out in the Lake. They made two Shot at him one after another, otherwiſe the Beaſt had certainly ſunk them. As ſoon as they had fir'd, they were forc'd to ſheer off as faſt as they could to charge again; which when they had done, they return'd to the Attack. The Bear was forc'd to ſtand it; and it coſt them no leſs than ſeven Shot before they could compaſs him.

As they were endeavouring to get him aboard, they were like to have been over-ſet; which if they had, they muſt have been infallibly loſt: All they could do was to faſten him to the Bar that is in the middle of the Canow, and ſo drag him on Shoar; which they did at laſt with much ado, and great hazard of their Lives. We had all the leiſure that was requiſite for the dreſſing and ordering him, ſo as to make him keep; and in the mean time took out his Intrails, and having cleans'd and boil'd them, eat heartily of them. Theſe are as good a Diſh as thoſe of our Sucking-Pigs in *Europe*. His Fleſh ſerv'd us the reſt of our Voyage, which we uſually eat with lean Goats-fleſh, becauſe it is too fat to eat by it ſelf: So that we liv'd for an hundred Leagues upon the Game that we kill'd in this Place.

[215] CHAP. LXX.

The Meeting of the Author and a certain Captain of the Outtaouacts, *nam'd* Talon *by the Intendant of that Name, upon the Lake of* Erie; *who recounts to him many Adventures of his Family and Nation. Further Obſervations upon the Great Fall or Cataracts of* Niagara.

THERE was a certain Captain of the *Outtaouacts*, to whom the Intendant *Talon*[1] gave his own Name, whilſt he was at *Quebec*. He us'd to come often to that City with thoſe of his Nation, who brought Furrs thither: We were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at the ſight of this Man, whom we found almoſt famiſh'd, and more like a Skeleton than a living Man. He told us the Name of *Talon* would be ſoon extinct in this Country, ſince he reſolv'd not to ſurvive the Loſs of ſix of his Family who had been ſtarved to Death. He added, That the Fiſhery and Chace had both fail'd this Year, which was the occaſion of this ſad Diſaſter.

He told us moreover, That though the *Iroqueſe* were not in War with his Nation, yet had they taken and carri'd into Slavery an entire Family of Twelve Souls. He begg'd very

[1] Jean Baptiste Talon was intendant of Canada from 1663 to 1675 (except during 1668–69). He displayed in this office great honesty and executive ability, and did much to promote exploration, and the development of the country's natural resources.— Ed.

earneſtly of me, that I would uſe my utmoſt Endeavours to have them releas'd, if they were yet alive; and gave me two Necklaces of Black and White Porcelain, that I might be ſure not to neglect a Buſineſs which he laid ſo much to heart. *I can rely upon thee*, Bare-foot, (for ſo they always call'd us) *and am confident that the* Iroqueſe *will hearken to thy Reaſons ſooner than any ones. Thou didſt often adviſe them at their Councils, which were held then at the Fort of* Katarockoui, *where thou haſt caus'd a great Cabin to be built. Had I been at my Village when thou cam'ſt through it, I would have done all that I could to have kept* [216] *thee, inſtead of the Black Coat* (ſo they call the Jeſuites) *which was there.* When the poor Captain had done ſpeaking, I ſolemnly promis'd him to uſe my utmoſt Intereſt with the *Iroqueſe*, for the releaſement of his Friends.

After we had row'd above an hundred and forty Leagues upon the Lake *Erie*, by reaſon of the many Windings of the Bays and Creeks which we were forc'd to coaſt, we paſs'd by the Great Fall of *Niagara*, and ſpent half a Day in conſidering the Wonders of that prodigious Caſcade.

I could not conceive how it came to paſs, that four great Lakes, the leaſt of which is 400 Leagues in compaſs, ſhould empty themſelves one into another, and then all centre and diſcharge themſelves at this Great Fall, and yet not drown good part of *America*. What is yet more ſurprizing, the Ground from the Mouth of the Lake *Erie*, down to the Great Fall, appears almoſt level and flat. 'Tis ſcarce diſcernable that there is the leaſt Riſe or Fall for ſix Leagues together: The

more than ordinary ſwiftneſs of the Stream, is the only thing that makes it be obſerv'd. And that which makes it yet the ſtranger is, That for two Leagues together below the Fall, towards the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*, the Lands are as level as they are above it towards the Lake of *Erie*.

Our Surpriſe was ſtill greater, when we obſerv'd there were no Mountains within two good Leagues of this Caſcade; and yet the vaſt quantity of Water which is diſcharg'd by theſe four freſh Seas, ſtops or centers here, and ſo falls above ſix hundred Foot down into a Gulph, which one cannot look upon without Horror. Two other great Out-lets, or Falls of Water, which are on the two ſides of a ſmall ſloping Iſland, which is in the midſt, fall gently and without noiſe, and ſo glide away quietly enough: But when this prodigious quantity of Water, of which I ſpeak, comes to fall, there is ſuch a din, and ſuch [217] a noiſe, that is more deafning than the loudeſt Thunder.

The rebounding of theſe Waters is ſo great, that a ſort of Cloud ariſes from the Foam of it, which are ſeen hanging over this Abyſs even at Noon-day, when the Sun is at its heighth. In the midſt of Summer, when the Weather is hotteſt, they ariſe above the talleſt Firrs, and other great Trees, which grow in the ſlooping Iſland which make the two Falls of Waters that I ſpoke of.

I wiſh'd an hundred times that ſomebody had been with us, who could have deſcrib'd the Wonders of this prodigious frightful Fall, ſo as to give the Reader a juſt and natural Idea of it, ſuch as might ſatisfy him, and create in him an Admira-

tion of this Prodigy of Nature as great as it deſerves. In the mean time, accept the following Draught, ſuch as it is; in which however I have endeavour'd to give the curious Reader as juſt an Image of it as I could.

We muſt call to mind what I obſerv'd of it in the beginning of my Voyage, which is to be ſeen in the Seventh Chapter of this Book. From the Mouth of the Lake *Erie* to the Great Fall, are reckon'd ſix Leagues, as I have ſaid, which is the continuation of the Great River of *St. Lawrence*, which ariſes out of the four Lakes above-mention'd. The River, you muſt needs think, is very rapid for theſe ſix Leagues, becauſe of the vaſt Diſcharge of Waters which fall into it out of the ſaid Lakes. The Lands, which lie on both ſides of it to the Eaſt and Weſt, are all level from the Lake *Erie* to the Great Fall. Its Banks are not ſteep; on the contrary, the Water is almoſt always level with the Land. 'Tis certain, that the Ground towards the Fall is lower, by the more than ordinary ſwiftneſs of the Stream; and yet 'tis not perceivable to the Eye for the ſix Leagues aboveſaid.

After it has run thus violently for ſix Leagues, it [218] meets with a ſmall ſloping Iſland, about half a quarter of a League long, and near three hundred Foot broad, as well as one can gueſs by the Eye; for it is impoſſible to come at it in a Canow of Bark, the Waters run with that force. The Iſle is full of Cedar and Firr; but the Land of it lies no higher than that on the Banks of the River. It ſeems to be all level, even as far as the two great Caſcades that make the Main Fall.

The two ſides of the Channels, which are made by the Iſle, and run on both ſides of it, overflow almoſt the very Surface of the Earth of the ſaid Iſle, as well as the Land that lies on the Banks of the River to the Eaſt and Weſt, as it runs South and North. But we muſt obſerve, that at the end of the Iſle, on the ſide of the two great Falls, there is a ſlooping Rock which reaches as far as the Great Gulph, into which the ſaid Waters fall; and yet the Rock is not at all wetted by the two Caſcades which fall on both ſides, becauſe the two Torrents which are made by the Iſle, throw themſelves with a prodigious force, one towards the Eaſt, and the other towards the Weſt, from off the end of the Iſle, where the Great Fall of all is.

After then theſe two Torrents have thus run by the two ſides of the Iſle, they caſt their Waters all of a ſudden down into the Gulph by two Great Falls; which Waters are puſh'd ſo violently on by their own Weight, and ſo ſuſtain'd by the ſwiftneſs of the motion, that they don't wet the Rock in the leaſt. And here it is that they tumble down into an Abyſs above 600 Foot in depth.

The Waters that flow on the ſide of the Eaſt, do not throw themſelves with that violence as thoſe that fall on the Weſt. The reaſon is, becauſe the Rock at the end of the Iſland, riſes ſomething more on this ſide, than it does on the Weſt; and ſo the Waters being ſupported by it ſomewhat longer than [219] they are on the other ſide, are carry'd the ſmoother off: But on the Weſt the Rock ſlooping more, the Waters, for want of a Support, become the ſooner broke,

and fall with the greater precipitation. Another reaſon is, the Lands that lie on the Weſt are lower than thoſe that lie on the Eaſt. We alſo obſerv'd, that the Waters of the Fall, that is to the Weſt, made a ſort of a ſquare Figure as they fell, which made a third Caſcade, leſs than the other two, which fell betwixt the South and North.

And becauſe there is a riſing Ground which lies before thoſe two Caſcades to the North, the Gulph is much larger there than to the Eaſt. Moreover, we muſt obſerve, that from the riſing Ground that lies over againſt the two laſt Falls which are on the Weſt of the main Fall, one may go down as far as the bottom of this terrible Gulph. The Author of this Diſcovery was down there, the more narrowly to obſerve the Fall of theſe prodigious Caſcades. From hence we could diſcover a Spot of Ground, which lay under the Fall of Water which is to the Eaſt, big enough for four Coaches to drive a breaſt without being wet; but becauſe the Ground, which is to the Eaſt of the ſloping Rock, where the firſt Fall empties it ſelf into the Gulph, is very ſteep, and almoſt perpendicular, 'tis impoſſible for a Man to get down on that ſide, into the Place where the four Coaches may go a-breaſt, or to make his way through ſuch a quantity of Water as falls towards the Gulph: So that 'tis very probable, that to this dry Place it is that the Rattle-Snakes retire, by certain Paſſages which they find under ground.

From the end then of this Iſland it is, that theſe two Great Falls of Waters, as alſo the third but now mention'd, throw themſelves, after a moſt ſurprizing manner, down into a dread-

ful Gulph ſix hundred Foot and more in depth. I have already ſaid, that the Waters which Diſcharge themſelves at the [220] Caſcade to the Eaſt, fall with leſſer force; whereas thoſe to the Weſt tumble all at once, making two Caſcades; one moderate, the other very violent and ſtrong, which at laſt make a kind of Crochet, or ſquare Figure, falling from South to North, and Weſt to Eaſt. After this, they rejoin the Waters of the other Caſcade that falls to the Eaſt, and ſo tumble down altogether, though unequally, into the Gulph, with all the violence that can be imagin'd, from a Fall of ſix hundred Foot, which makes the moſt Beautiful, and at the ſame time moſt Frightful Caſcade in the World.

After theſe Waters have thus diſcharg'd themſelves into this dreadful Gulph, they begin to reſume their Courſe, and continue the great River of *St. Lawrence* for two Leagues, as far as the three Mountains which are on the Eaſt of the River, and the great Rock which is on the Weſt, and lifts it ſelf three Fathoms above the Waters, or thereabouts. The Gulph into which theſe Waters are diſcharg'd, continues it ſelf thus two Leagues together, between a Chain of Rocks, flowing with a prodigious Torrent, which is bridled and kept in by the Rocks that lie on each ſide of the River.

Into this Gulph it is, that theſe ſeveral Caſcades empty themſelves, with a violence equal to the height from whence they fall, and the quantity of Waters, which they diſcharge. Hence ariſe thoſe deafning Sounds, that dreadful roaring and bellowing of the Waters which drown the loudeſt Thunder,

as alſo the perpetual Miſts that hang over the Gulph, and riſe above the talleſt Pines that are in the little Iſle ſo often mention'd. After a Channel is again made at the bottom of this dreadful Fall by the Chain of Rocks, and fill'd by that prodigious quantity of Waters which are continually falling, the River of *St. Lawrence* reſumes its Courſe: But with that violence, and his Waters beat againſt the [221] Rocks with ſo prodigious a force, that 'tis impoſſible to paſs even in a Canow of Bark, though in one of them a Man may venture ſafe enough upon the moſt rapid Streams, by keeping cloſe to the Shoar.

Theſe Rocks, as alſo the prodigious Torrent, laſt for two Leagues; that is, from the great Fall, to the three Mountains and great Rock: But then it begins inſenſibly to abate, and the Land to be again almoſt on a level with the Water; and ſo it continues as far as the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*.

When one ſtands near the Fall, and looks down into this moſt dreadful Gulph, one is ſeized with Horror, and the Head turns round, ſo that one cannot look long or ſtedfaſtly upon it. But this vaſt Deluge beginning inſenſibly to abate, and even to fall to nothing about the three Mountains, the Waters of the River *St. Lawrence* begin to glide more gently along, and to be almoſt upon a level with the Lands; ſo that it becomes navigable again, as far as the Lake *Frontenac*, over which we paſs to come to the New Canal, which is made by the diſcharge of its Waters. Then we enter again upon the River *St. Lawrence*, which not long after makes

that which they call the *Long Fall*, an hundred Leagues from *Niagara*.[1]

I have often heard talk of the Cataracts of the *Nile*, which make the People deaf that live near them. I know not whether the *Iroqueſe*, who formerly inhabited near this Fall, and liv'd upon the Beaſts which from time to time are born down by the violence of its Torrent, withdrew themſelves from its Neighbourhood, leſt they ſhould likewiſe become deaf; or out of the continual fear they were in of Rattle-Snakes, which are very common in this Place during the great Heats, and lodge in Holes all along the Rocks as far as the Mountains, which lie two Leagues lower.

Be it as it will, theſe dangerous Creatures are to [222] be met with as far as the Lake *Frontenac*, on the South-ſide; but becauſe they are never to be ſeen but in the midſt of Summer, and then only when the Heats are exceſſive, they are not ſo afraid of them here as elſewhere. However, 'tis reaſonable to preſume, that the horrid noiſe of the Fall, and the fear of theſe poiſonous Serpents, might oblige the Savages to ſeek out a more commodious Habitation.

Having carry'd our Canow from the Great Fall of *Niagara*, as far as the three Mountains, which are two Leagues below, in all which Way we perceiv'd never a Snake; we proceeded in our Voyage, and arriv'd at the Lake of *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*.

[1] The Long Sault of the St. Lawrence, situated above Cornwall, Ont., nearly opposite the boundary line between New York and Quebec. Navigation past these rapids is made practicable by the Cornwall Canal.— Ed.

CHAP. LXXI.

The Author ſets out from the Fort which is at the Mouth of the River Niagara, *and obliges the* Iroqueſe *aſſembl'd in Council, to deliver up the Slaves they had made of the* Outtaouacts.

WE met none of the Savages in the little Village of the *Iroqueſe*, which is near the Mouth of the River *Niagara;* for they ſow there but very little *Indian* Corn; and inhabit the Village but in Harveſt-time, or in the Seaſon they go a fiſhing for Sturgeons, or Whiteings which are there in great plenty. We thought alſo we ſhould find ſome *Canadians* at the Fort of the River which we had begun to build, at the beginning of our Diſcovery: But theſe Forts were only built for a Show, to cover the ſecret Trade of Furrs, and countenance the great Hopes M. *de la Salle* had given to the *French* Court.

It muſt be granted, that ſuch Diſcoveries are beyond any private Mens Power, and they muſt be [223] countenanc'd by a Sovereign Authority, to be ſucceſsful. Therefore M. *de la Salle* had got the *French* Court's Protection; but inſtead of making a good uſe of it for the publick Good, he did chiefly aim at his own private Intereſt, and for that reaſon neglected a great many things neceſſary to carry on his

Enterprize. The Fort of the River of *Niagara* was become a deſerted Place, and might have ſerv'd to countenance his Deſign. We came along the Southern Coaſts of the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac;* and after having ſailed thirty Leagues, we arriv'd about *Whitſuntide* in the Year 1681, at the great Village of the *Tſonnontouans* [Senecas] *Iroqueſe.*

The Savages came to meet us, repeating often this Word *Otchitagon*, meaning by it, that the *Bare-foot* was return'd from the great Voyage he had undertook, to viſit the Nations that are beyond the River *Hohio* and *Meſchaſipi;* and though our Faces were burnt by the Sun, and my Clothes patch'd up with wild Bull-Skins, yet they knew me, and carry'd me with my two Men into one of their Officer's Cottages.

They did call their Council, which met to the number of Thirty, or thereabouts, wearing their Gowns in a ſtately manner, made up with all ſorts of Skins, twiſted about their Arms, with the *Calumet* in their Hands. They gave order that we ſhou'd be entertain'd according to their own Faſhion, while they did ſmoak without eating.

After we had done eating, I told them by a *Canadian* that was my Interpreter, that their Warriors had brought 12 *Outtaouacts* as Slaves, though they were their Confederates and *Onontio*'s Friends, ('tis the Name they give to the Viceroy of *Canada*) breaking thereby the Peace, and proclaiming War againſt *Canada:* And the better to oblige them to deliver up to us the *Outtaouacts*, who by good Fortune were ſtill alive,

we flung in the middle of the Aſſembly two Collars of Porcelain, that Captain [224] *Talon* had given us; This is the only way among them, to enter upon any Affair.

The next day the Council met, and the *Iroqueſe* anſwer'd me with ſome other Collars of Porcelain; and told me, That thoſe who had made theſe Men Slaves, were young Warriors without Conſideration; That we might aſſure *Onontio*, (who was then Count *Frontenac*) that their Nation wou'd always reſpect him in all things; That they ſhou'd live with him as true Children with their Father, and that they wou'd deliver up the Men who had been taken.

Teganeot, one of the chiefeſt, who ſpoke for the whole Nation in the Council, preſented me with ſome Skins of Otter, Martin, and Bever, to the value of thirty Crowns. I took his Preſent with one Hand, and deliver'd it with the other to his Son, whom he lov'd tenderly. I told him, That I made him that Preſent, that he might Exchange it with ſome Merchandizes of *Europe;* and that the *Bare-feet* will accept of no Preſent at all, not out of Contempt, but becauſe we are diſintereſted in all things; aſſuring him, I would acquaint the Governor with his Friendſhip.

The *Iroqueſe* was ſurpriz'd that I did not accept of his Preſent; and ſeeing beſides, that I gave a little Looking-Glaſs to his Son, he ſaid to thoſe of his Nation, that the other *Canadians* were not of that Temper: And they ſent us ſeveral Fowls, as an acknowledgment of their Gratitude for the care we took, to teach their Children ſome Prayers in

their own Tongue. After the Promiſes the Savages gave us to live in good correſpondency with us, we took our leave of them, and got our ſelves ready, in order to continue our Voyage.

[225] CHAP. LXXII.

The Author ſets out from the Tſonnontouans Iroqueſe, *and comes to Fort* Frontenac.

I MUST confeſs it is a great Pleaſure for one to come out of Slavery, or the Hands of Savages, and to reflect upon paſt Miſeries; eſpecially when he returns among Friends, to reſt himſelf after ſo many Hardſhips and Troubles.

We had ſtill about Fourſcore Leagues to go upon the Lake *Ontario*, before we cou'd arrive at Fort *Catarokoui*, or *Frontenac;* but we were all the Way very merry. I had help'd *Picard du Gay* and *Michael Ako*, my Fellow-Travellers, with ſome Skins, to make amends for the Hardſhip and Pains they ſuffer'd in that Voyage. We had much ado to row off our Canow, it being much bigger than that we made uſe of when we ſet out from the *Iſſati* and *Nadoueſſians;* but nevertheleſs we came in four Days to the Fort, and kill'd in our way ſome Buſtards and Teals. We wanted then neither Powder nor Shot, and therefore we ſhot at random all that we met, either ſmall Birds, or Turtles, and Wood-Pigeons, which were then coming from Foreign Countries in ſo great Numbers, that they did appear in the Air like Clouds.

I obſerv'd upon this Occaſion, and many other times during our Voyage, a thing worthy of Admiration: The

Birds that were flying at the Head of the others, keep often back, to eaſe and help thoſe among them that are tir'd; which may be a Leſſon to Men to help one another in time of need. Father *Luke Buiſſet*, and Sergeant *la Fleur*, who had the Command in the Fort in the Abſence of M. *la Salle*, receiv'd us in the Houſe of our Order, that we had built together.

[226] They were much ſurpriz'd to ſee us, having been told that the Savages had hang'd me with St. *Francis*'s Rope two Years ago. All the Inhabitants of *Canada*, and the Savages that we had encourag'd to live near Fort *Frontenac*, to Till the Ground, made me an extraordinary Reception, and ſhew'd much Joy to ſee me again. The Savages put their Hand upon their Mouth, and repeated often this Word, *Otkon*, meaning, That the *Bare-foot* muſt be a Spirit, having travell'd ſo far, through ſo many Nations that wou'd have kill'd them, if they had been there. Tho' we were kindly us'd in this Fort, yet my Men had a great Mind to return into *Canada;* and having eſcap'd ſo many Dangers together, I was willing to make an End of the Voyage with them; therefore we took leave of Father *Luke Buiſſet*, and of all our Friends that liv'd in that Fort, and went for *Quebec*.

CHAP. LXXIII.

The Author ſets out from Fort Frontenac, *and paſſes over the rapid Stream, which is call'd* The Long Fall. *He is kindly receiv'd at* Montreal *by Count* Frontenac.

WE ſet out from the Fort ſooner than I thought, not being able to keep any longer my Men, and in our Way took a more exact View of the Mouth of the Lake *Ontario*, or *Frontenac*. This Place is call'd *Thouſand Iſlands*, becauſe there are ſo many of them, that 'tis impoſſible to tell them. The Stream is here very rapid; but its Swiftneſs is prodigiouſly increas'd, by the great Quantity of Waters that come from the other Lakes abovemention'd, and a great many Rivers that run into this, in the Place call'd, *The Long Fall*, which makes it as dreadful as the great Fall of *Niagara*.

[227] But beſides this great Quantity of Waters, and the Declivity of the Channel, which makes the Current ſo rapid, there are alſo on the Banks, and in the middle of the River of St. *Laurence*, about eight or Ten Leagues below the ſaid Lake, great Rocks, which appear above Water, which ſtopping the Stream of the River, makes as great a Noiſe as the great Fall of *Niagara*.

This dreadful Encounter of Water that beats ſo furiouſly againſt theſe Rocks, continues about two Leagues, the Waters

ſpurt up ten or twelve Yards high, and appear like huge Snow-Balls, Hail, and Rain, with dreadful Thunder, and a Noiſe like Hiſſing and Howling of Fierce Beaſts: And I do certainly believe, that if a Man continued there a conſiderable time, he wou'd become Deaf, without any Hope of Cure.

My Men refuſing to carry by Land the Canow, and the Skins they had got, I was forc'd to adventure with them; which I did willingly, having formerly paſs'd theſe Streams in a Canow: I truſted my ſelf again to the ſame G O D who had deliver'd me from ſo many great Dangers. The Stream is ſo rapid, that we cou'd not tell the Trees that were on the Bank, and yet there was hardly room for our Canow to paſs between the Rocks. We were carri'd away by theſe horrid Currents above two great Leagues in a very ſhort time; and in two Days we came from *Frontenac* to *Montreal*, which are about Threeſcore Leagues diſtant one from another. Before our landing at *Montreal*, my Men deſir'd me to leave them with the Skins in a neighbouring Iſland, to ſave ſome Duties, or rather to keep off from M. *la Salle*'s Creditors, who wou'd have ſeiz'd the Commodities they had got in their long Voyage with me in our great Diſcovery.

[228] Count *Frontenac*, who was at *Montreal*, looking out of a Window, ſaw me alone in a Canow, and took me for Father *Luke Fillatre*, one of our *Recollects*, who ſerv'd him as Chaplain. But one of his Guards, knowing me again, went to him, and acquainted him with my coming; he was ſo kind as to come to meet me, and made me the beſt Reception that a Miſſionary might expect from a Perſon of that Rank

and Quality. He thought I had been murther'd by the Savages two Years ago. He was at firſt ſurpriz'd, thinking I was ſome other *Recollect* that came from *Virginia:* But at laſt he knew me, and gave me a very kind Entertainment.

This Lord did wonder to ſee me ſo much alter'd, being lean, tir'd, and tann'd, having loſt my Cloak that the *Iſſati* had ſtoll'n from me, being then cloath'd in an old Habit, patch'd up with pieces of wild Bulls-Skins. He carri'd me to his own Houſe, where I continu'd for twelve Days to refreſh my ſelf. He forbad all his Servants to give me any thing to eat, without his expreſs Order, becauſe he was afraid I ſhou'd fall ſick if I was left to my own Diſcretion, to eat as much as I wou'd after ſo long Hardſhips; and he gave me himſelf what he thought was beſt.

He was much pleas'd to hear me talk of all the Hazards I had run in ſo long a Voyage among ſo many different Nations. I repreſented to him what great Advantages might be got by our Diſcovery: But having obſerv'd that he was always repeating the ſame Queſtions he ask'd me the firſt Day I was with him, I told him I had acquainted him with what I knew; and that I did not queſtion but M. *la Salle*, who was to go to the Court of *France* about his Affairs, had acquainted him with all the Particulars of our Voyage, having been in our Company till he was forc'd to leave us to return into *Canada*.

[229] I knew that M. *la Salle* was a Man that wou'd never forgive me, if I had told all that I knew of our Voyage; therefore I kept ſecret the whole Diſcovery we had

made of the River *Meſchaſipi*. My Men were as much concern'd as I, in concealing our Voyage; for they had been certainly puniſh'd for having undertaken it againſt Orders; and the Skins they had got in their return from the *Iſſati* with M. *du Luth*, who did ſtay for that reaſon among the *Outtaouacts*, had likewiſe been confiſcated.[1]

Count *Frontenac* ſhew'd me in private a Letter M. *du Luth* had ſent him by a *Huron*, who liv'd in the Neighbourhood of the *Outtaouacts*, by which he acquainted him, he cou'd never learn any thing about our Voyage, neither from me, nor from the Men who attended me. I cou'd not forbear then to tell him, that M. *du Luth* was not ſo much devoted to his Service as he thought; and that I might aſſure him that ſome Men that were his Opponents, had ſtopp'd M. *du Luth*'s Mouth; and that I was fully perſuaded he had been ſent by them with a ſecret Order, to pump me; but I was bound by my Character, and in Charity, to ſpare thoſe Men, tho' on many Occaſions they had not dealt ſo juſtly with me; but I was willing to leave all to God, who *will render to every one according to his Works.*

Francis de Laval, the firſt Lord Biſhop of *Quebec*, came along the River *St. Laurence*, to make his Viſitation, while I

[1] All these statements refer to the restrictions imposed on the colonists of Canada in the fur trade, — which was a monopoly, granted successively to various commercial companies, — and the consequent illegal traffic carried on by them. Du Luth and many others of his class were known as *coureurs de bois* ("wood-rangers"); they traded with the Indians for peltries, which they shipped to the English and Dutch at Albany as well as to the French at Montreal, and remained in the wilderness, outside the reach of Canadian officials — who were often accused of collusion, and even of private partnership, with the *coureurs de bois*. — Ed.

was coming to *Quebec* with the Lord *Frontenac*. We met him near Fort *Champlein*,[1] which had been fortifi'd, to put a Stop to the Inroads of the *Iroqueſe:* The Lord *Frontenac* ask'd me, if I had got an Ague; and then looking upon thoſe that attended him, he ſaid, that the feeling of the Pulſe increas'd the Fever; inſinuating to me thereby, that there was a Deſign laid againſt me, to get out cunningly what I kept ſecret in my Heart.

[230] After a ſhort Converſation with the Biſhop, I ask'd his Epiſcopal Bleſſing, tho' I did not think fit to reveal to him all that I knew of our Diſcoveries. We were going to diſcourſe more largely upon this Subject, when the Lord *Frontenac* came in, to invite the Biſhop to Dine with him, and thereby to give me an opportunity to put an end to our Converſation.

I was much puzzl'd in the Company of theſe two Great Men, the Biſhop was the Chief of the Company; but I was yet to pay a great Reſpect to the Lord *Frontenac*. I did avoid talking of Matters that might be troubleſome to me; and I told the Biſhop, that the Lord *Frontenac* had preſcrib'd me a Courſe of Diet, leſt I ſhou'd fall ſick, after all the Hard-ſhips I had endur'd, and the bad Food I fed upon among the Savages; therefore I deſir'd him to give me leave to return to *Quebec*, that I might live there in private; for I was not able then to Catechiſe the Children, nor to perform any Functions of a Miſſionary in his Viſitation; and that I wanted

[1] Apparently a reference to Fort Ste. Anne, which was built about 1666 at the entrance to Lake Champlain, by La Mothe, afterward La Salle's lieutenant.— Ed.

ſome Reſt, that I might work more vigorouſly afterwards. By theſe Means I avoided a Converſation with the Biſhop, that wou'd have prov'd very troubleſome, to me; for he gave me leave to retire to our Monaſtery, to reſt there after all my Fatigues.

[231] CHAP. LXXIV.

A great Defeat of the Illinois, *that were attack'd and ſurpriz'd by the* Iroqueſe.

WHILE I was reſting after my great Labours, the Lord *Frontenac* did receive Letters from Father *Zenobe Mambre*, whom I left among the *Illinois*. He ſent him Word, that the *Iroqueſe* had drawn the *Miamis* into their Party; and that being join'd together, they had form'd a great Army, and were fall'n on a ſudden upon the *Illinois*, to deſtroy that Nation; and that they were got together to the number of Nine hundred, all Fuſiliers; theſe two Nations being well provided with Guns, and all ſort of Ammunitions of War, by the Commerce they have with the *Europeans*.

The *Iroqueſe* were projecting this Enterprize about the 12th of *September*, 1680, while I was about the Diſcovery of the River *Meſchaſipi*. The *Illinois* did not miſtruſt them; for they had concluded a Treaty of Peace with theſe two Nations; and M. *la Salle* had aſſur'd them, that he wou'd do his utmoſt Endeavours to oblige them to obſerve the Treaty; therefore the *Illinois* were eaſily ſurpriz'd, having ſent moſt part of their Youth to make War in another Country.

A *Chaouanon*, Confederate to the *Illinois*, returning from their Country home, came back again, to give them notice

that he had diſcover'd an Army of *Iroqueſe* and *Miamis*, who were already enter'd into their Country on purpoſe to ſurprize them.

This News frighted the *Illinois;* yet the next Day they appear'd in the Field, and march'd directly to the Enemy; and as ſoon as they were in ſight, they charg'd them. The Fight was very ſharp, [232] and a great many Men were kill'd on both ſides.

M. *Tonti*, whom M. *la Salle* had left in the Fort of *Crevecœur*, to command there in his Abſence, hearing of this Irruption, was in fear for the *Illinois*'s ſake; for though their Army was more numerous than that of their Enemy, yet they had no Guns; therefore he offer'd himſelf to go *Askenon*, that is *Mediator*, carrying the *Calumet* of Peace in his Hand, in order to bring them to an Agreement.

The *Iroqueſe* finding more reſiſtance than they thought at firſt, and ſeeing that the *Illinois* were reſolv'd to continue the War, conſented to a Treaty of Peace, accepting Mr. *Tonti*'s Mediation, and hearken'd to the Propoſals he made them from the *Illinois*, who had choſen him for Mediator.

M. *Tonti* repreſented to them, that the *Illinois* were *Onontio*'s ('tis the Name they give to the Viceroy of *Canada*) Children and Confederates as well as themſelves; and that it wou'd be very unpleaſant to him, who lov'd them all, to hear that they had begun the War; therefore he earneſtly intreated them to return home, and trouble the *Illinois* no further, ſeeing they had religiouſly obſerv'd the Treaty of Peace.

Theſe Propoſals did not pleaſe ſome of the young *Iroqueſe*, who had a great mind to fight, and therefore charg'd on a ſudden M. *Tonti* and his Men with ſeveral Shots; and a deſperate young Fellow of the Country of *Onnontaghe*, gave him a Wound with a Knife, near the Heart; but by chance a Rib warded off the Stroke: Several others did fall upon him, and wou'd take him away; but one taking notice of his Hat, and that his Ears were not bor'd, knew thereby that he was not an *Illinois*, and for that reaſon an old Man cry'd out, That they ſhou'd [233] ſpare him; and flung to him a Collar of Porcelain, meaning thereby to make him Satiſfaction for the Blood he had loſt, and the Wound he had receiv'd.

A young Man of the *Iroqueſe*'s Crew, took M. *Tonti*'s Hat, and hung it on his Gun, to fright the *Illinois* therewith; who thinking by that Signal that *Tonti*, Father *Zenobe*, and all the *Europeans* that were in his Company, had been kill'd by the *Iroqueſe*, were ſo much ſurpriz'd and diſquieted with that horrid Attempt, that they fanci'd themſelves deliver'd up into the Hands of their Enemies, and were upon running away: Yet the *Iroqueſe* having made a Signal to Father *Zenobe* to draw near, that they might confer with him about the means to prevent both Armies to come to fight, they receiv'd the *Calumet* of Peace, and made a Motion as if they had a mind to withdraw: But the *Illinois* were hardly come to their Village, before that they ſaw the *Iroqueſe*'s Army appearing upon ſome Hills, which were over-againſt them.

This Motion oblig'd Father *Zenobe*, at the *Illinois*'s Re-

queſt, to go to them to know the reaſon of a Proceeding ſo contrary to what they had done in accepting of the *Calumet* of Peace. But that Embaſſy did not pleaſe thoſe Barbarians, who wou'd not loſe ſo fair an Opportunity. Father *Zenobe* did run the hazard of being murther'd by theſe unmerciful Men; yet the ſame God who had preſerv'd many of our Fellow-Miſſionaries in the like Encounters, and my ſelf in this Diſcovery, kept him from the Hand of theſe furious Men. He was a Man of a ſhort Stature, but very couragious, and went boldly among the *Iroqueſe*, who receiv'd him very civilly.

They told him, that the Want they were reduc'd to, had forc'd them to this new Step, having no Proviſions for their Army, and their great Number having driven away the Wild-Bulls from that Country. [234] Father *Zenobe* brought their Anſwer to the *Illinois*, who preſently ſent them ſome *Indian* Corn, and all things neceſſary for their Subſiſtence, and propos'd to them a Treaty of Commerce, having in that Country a great plenty of Beaver's Skins and other Furrs.

The *Iroqueſe* accepted of theſe Propoſals; they did exchange Hoſtages, and Father *Zenobe* went into their Camp, and did lie there, to loſe no time to bring all Matters to an Agreement, and conclude a Treaty between them. But the *Iroqueſe* repairing in great Numbers into the Quarters of the *Illinois*, who ſuſpected no ill Deſign, they advanc'd as far as their Village, where they waſted the *Mauſolæums* that they us'd to raiſe to their Dead, which are commonly ſeven or eight Foot high: They ſpoil'd the *Indian* Corn that was ſown;

and having deceiv'd the *Illinois*, under a falſe pretence of Peace, fortifi'd themſelves in their Village.

In this Confuſion the *Iroqueſe* join'd with the *Miamis*, carri'd away eight hundred *Illinois* Women and Children; and their Fury went ſo far, that theſe *Antropophages* did eat ſome Old Men of that Nation, and burnt ſome others who were not able to follow them, and ſo return'd with the Slaves they had made, to their own Habitations, which were four hundred Leagues off the Country they had ſo cruelly plunder'd.

Upon the firſt News of the Approach of the *Iroqueſe*, the *Illinois* had ſent moſt part of their Families to the other ſide of a little Hill, to ſecure them from their Fury, and that they might get over the River *Meſchaſipi;* and the others that were fit for War, did flock together on the Tops of the Hills that were near their Habitations, and then went to the other ſide of the River, to look after their Families, and provide for their Subſiſtence.

[235] After this perfidious Expedition, theſe Barbarians wou'd fain alledge ſome Pretences to excuſe their Treachery, and wou'd perſuade our Fathers to retire from the *Illinois*'s Country, ſince they were all fled away; and that there was no likelihood they ſhou'd want them for the future to teach them their Prayers, as the *Aſſientatſi*, or the Black-Gowns do in their Countries, meaning the Jeſuits whom they call by that Name. They told Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe*, that they ſhould do better to return into *Canada*, and that they would attempt nothing againſt the Life of the Children of *Onontio*,

Governor of *Canada*, deſiring to have a Letter under their Hand, to ſhew it as a Teſtimony of their honeſt proceeding in this occaſion, and aſſuring them that they would no more ſtand by their Enemies.

Our two Fathers being ſo forſaken by their Hoſts, and finding themſelves expos'd to the Fury of a Cruel and Victorious Enemy, reſolv'd to return home, according to the *Iroqueſe* Advice; and being ſuppli'd by them with a Canow, they embark'd for *Canada*.[1]

[1] This action was taken by mutual consent of not only the two priests, but of Tonty and the three other Frenchmen who accompanied him; see Membré's account (Shea's translation of Le Clercq, ii, p. 145).—Ed.

CHAP. LXXVII [*i. e.*, LXXV].

The Savages Kikapoux *murther Father* Gabriel de la Ribourde, *a Recollect Miſſionary.*

GOD has given me the Grace to be inſenſible of the Wrong I have ſuffer'd from my Enemies, and to be thankful for the Kindneſſes I have receiv'd from my Friends. But if ever I had reaſon to be thankful to thoſe that have taken care of my Inſtruction, certainly I muſt confeſs it was to this Good Father *Gabriel*, who was my Maſter during my Novitiate in the Monaſtery of our Order at *Bethune*, in the Province of *Artois;* therefore I [236] think, that I am bound in Duty to mention ſo Honeſt a Man in this Relation of my Diſcovery, eſpecially having had ſo ſad a Share therein, as to be murder'd by the Savages *Kikapoux*, as I will relate it.

It muſt be obſerv'd, That M. *Tonti* could ſtay no longer at Fort *Crevecœur*, after the *Illinois* Defeat[1]; therefore he deſir'd Fathers *Gabriel* and *Zenobe* to get, with two young Boys that were left there, into a Canow, and return into *Canada*. All the reſt of the Inhabitants had deſerted that Country ſince that unfortunate Accident, by the Suggeſtion

[1] This must be an oversight on Hennepin's part; for Fort Crêvecœur had been plundered and deserted in March of that same year, by the French who had been left by La Salle as its garrison. Tonty was in the Illinois village near Utica, at the time of its destruction by the Iroquois.— Ed.

of ſome Men of *Canada*, who were the Predominant *Genius* of the Country, who had flatter'd them with great Hopes, to oblige them to forſake M. *de la Salle*'s Deſign.

Our ſaid Fathers being ſo forc'd to leave that Country after ſuch a Defeat, embark'd the 18th of *September* following, wanting all ſorts of Proviſions, except what they could kill with their Guns; but being arriv'd about eight Leagues from the *Illinois*, their Canow touching upon a Rock, let in Water, and ſo were forc'd to land about Noon to mend it.

While they were about careening the ſame, Father *Gabriel*, charm'd with the fine Meadows, the little Hills, and the pleaſant Groves in that Country, which are diſpers'd at ſuch diſtances, that they look as if they had been planted on purpoſe to adorn the Country, went ſo far into thoſe Woods, that he loſt his Way. At Night Father *Zenobe* went to look after him, as alſo the reſt of the Company; for he was generally lov'd by all that knew him. But M. *Tonti* was ſuddenly ſeiz'd with panick Fears, thinking that every moment the *Iroqueſe* wou'd fall upon him: So that he ſent for Father *Zenobe*, and forc'd all his Men to retire into the Canow, and ſo got over the River on the *Illinois*-ſide, and left [237] the Old Father expos'd to the Barbarians Inſults, without any reſpect to his Age, or to his Perſonal Merits.

'Tis true, that in the Evening one of the Young Men that were in the Canow with Father *Zenobe*, fir'd a Gun by M. *Tonti*'s Order, and lighted a great Fire; but all was in vain.

The next Day, M. *Tonti* ſeeing he had behav'd himſelf

cowardly on this occaſion, went back again by break of Day to the Place where we had left the Day before Father *Gabriel*, and continu'd there till Noon looking after the poor Chriſtian. But though ſome of his Men enter'd into the Groves, where they ſaw the freſh Steps of a Man, which were alſo printed in the Meadows along the Bank of the River, they could never hear of him. M. *Tonti* ſaid ſince, to excuſe himſelf for having ſo baſely forſaken Father *Gabriel*, That he thought the *Iroqueſe* had laid an Ambuſcade to ſurprize him; for they had ſeen him flying away, and they might fancy he had declar'd himſelf for the *Illinois*.

But M. *Tonti* might have remember'd he had given his Letters for *Canada* to theſe *Iroqueſe;* and that if they had form'd any Deſign upon his Life, they would have executed it when he was among them: But they were ſo far from it, that when he was wounded, they preſented him with a Collar of Porcelain; which they never do but when ſome unlucky Accidents happen. The Savages don't uſe ſo much circumſpection; and therefore this Excuſe is groundleſs and frivolous. Father *Zenobe* has left us in Writing, That he would ſtay for Father *Gabriel:* But M. *Tonti* forc'd him to embark at Three a Clock in the Afternoon; ſaying, That certainly he had been kill'd by the Enemies, or elſe he was gone a-foot along the Banks of the River; and that they would ſee him in their way. However, they could hear [238] nothing of him; and the farther they went, the greater Father *Zenobe*'s Afflictions grew. They were then in ſuch a want of Proviſions, that they had nothing to feed upon but

Potatoes, Wild Garlick, and ſome ſmall Roots they had ſcratch'd out of the Ground with their own Fingers.

We have heard ſince, that Father *Gabriel* had been kill'd a little while after his landing. The Nation of the *Kikapoux*, who, as one may ſee in our Map, inhabit to the Weſtward of the Bay of *Puans*, had ſent their Youth to make War againſt the *Iroqueſe;* but hearing that theſe Barbarians were got into the Country of the *Illinois*, they went ſeeking about to ſurprize them. Three *Kikapoux*, making the Vanguard, met with Father *Gabriel*, and came up to him as near as they could, hiding themſelves among the Graſs, which is very high in that Country; and though they knew he was not an *Iroqueſe*, yet they knock'd him down with their Clubs, call'd *Head-breakers*, which are made of a very hard Wood. They left his Body on the ſpot, and carri'd away his Breviary and Journal, which ſince came to the Hands of a Jeſuite, whom I will mention in my other Volume, wherein I deſign to ſpeak of the Firſt Introduction of the Faith into *Canada*. Theſe Barbarians took off the Skin of his Head, and carri'd it in triumph to their Village, giving out that it was the Hair of an *Iroqueſe* whom they had kill'd.

Thus di'd this Good Old Man; to whom we may apply what the Scripture ſays of thoſe whom *Herod* in his Fury caus'd to be Slain, *Non erat qui ſepeliret;* There was no body to Bury him. This Worthy Man was wont in the Leſſons he made us in our Novitiate, to prepare us againſt the like Accidents by Mortifications. And it ſeems that he had ſome foreſight of what befel him. So Good a Man deſerv'd a

Better Fate, if a Better might be wiſh'd for, [239] than to die in the Functions of an Apoſtolical Miſſion, by the Hands of thoſe ſame Nations, to whom the Divine Providence had ſent him to convert them.

Father *Gabriel* was about 65 Years old. He had not only liv'd an exemplary Life, ſuch as our Good Fathers do, but had alſo perform'd all the Duties of the Employments he had in that Order, either when he was at home Guardian, Superior, Inferior, and Maſter of the Novices; or abroad when he was in *Canada*, where he continu'd from the Year 1670, until his Death. I underſtood ſeveral times by his Diſcourſes, that he was much oblig'd to the *Flemings*, who had maintain'd him a long time: He often talk'd to us about it, to inſpire us, by his Example, with ſome Sentiments of Gratitude towards our Benefactors. I have ſeen him mov'd with Grief, conſidering that ſo many Nations liv'd in the Ignorance of the Way to Salvation; and he was willing to loſe his Life, to deliver them out of their Stupidity.

The *Iroqueſe* ſaid of him, That he had been brought to bed, becauſe his Great Belly was become flat by his frequent Faſtings, and the Auſterity of his Life.

M. *Tonti* can never clear himſelf of his Baſeneſs, for forſaking Father *Gabriel*, under pretence of being afraid of the *Iroqueſe:* For though they are a Wild Nation, yet they lov'd that Good Old Man, who had been often among them: But M. *Tonti* might bear him ſome Secret Grudge; becauſe Father *Gabriel*, after the *Illinois* Defeat, ſeeing that M. *Tonti* had over-laden the Canow with Beavers-Skins, ſo that there

was no room for him, he did throw many of theſe Skins to the *Iroqueſe*, to ſhew them that he was not come into that Country to get Skins or other Commodities.

[240] Father *Zenobe* had neither Credit nor Courage enough to perſuade M. *Tonti* to ſtay a while for that Good Father, who was thus ſacrific'd to ſecure ſome Beavers-Skins. I do not doubt but the Death of that *venerable* Old Man was very precious in the ſight of God, and I hope it will produce one time or other its Effects, when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſet forth his Mercy towards theſe Wild Nations; and I do wiſh it might pleaſe him to make uſe of a feeble means, as I am, to finiſh what I have, through His Grace, and with Labour, ſo happily begun.

CHAP. LXXVI.

The Author's Return from his Diſcovery, to Quebec; *and what hapned at his Arrival at the Convent of Our* Lady of Angels *near that Town.*

COUNT *Frontenac*, Viceroy of *Canada*, gave me two of his Guards, who underſtood very well to manage a Canow, to carry me to *Quebec*. We ſet out from *Champlein*'s Fort, mention'd above; and being near the Town, I landed, and went a-foot through the Lands newly grubb'd up, to our Monaſtery, bidding the Guards to carry the Canow along with them.

I would not land at *Quebec*, becauſe the Biſhop had given order to his Vicar-General to receive me in his Epiſcopal Palace, that he might have more time to enquire about our Great Diſcovery: But Count *Frontenac* had expreſly order'd his Major that was in the Town, to prevent that Meeting, and to take care that I might firſt be brought to our Monaſtery, to confer with Father *Valentin de Roux*, a Man of great Underſtanding, and Provincial-Commiſſary of the Recollects in *Canada*.

[241] There was then in our Monaſtery of Our *Lady of Angels*, but Three Miſſionaries with the ſaid Commiſſary; all

the reſt were diſpers'd up-and-down in ſeveral Miſſions above a hundred Leagues from *Quebec*. One may eaſily imagine that I was welcome to our Monaſtery; Father *Hilarion Jeunet* ſeem'd ſurpriz'd, and told me with a ſmiling Countenance, *Lazare veni foras*. Whereupon I ask'd him why he did apply to me what had been ſaid of *Lazarus?* To which he anſwer'd, that two Years ago a Maſs of *Requiem* had been ſung for me in the Monaſtery, becauſe ſome Savages had given out for certain, to a Black Gown, *i. e.* a Jeſuit, That the Nation whom the *Iroqueſe* call *Hontouagaha*,[1] had hung me to a Tree with St. *Francis*'s Rope; and that two Men who accompani'd me, had been alſo in a very cruel manner put to Death by the ſame Savages.

Here I muſt confeſs, That all Men have their Friends and their Enemies. There are ſome Men who, like the Fire that blackens the Wood it cannot burn, muſt needs raiſe Stories againſt their Neighbours; and therefore ſome having not been able to get me into their Party, ſpread abroad this Rumour of my Death, to ſtain my Reputation; and that Noiſe had given occaſion to ſeveral Diſcourſes in *Canada* to my Prejudice. However, (for I will, if it pleaſe God, declare my Mind farther upon this matter in another Volume) I ought to acknowledge that God has preſerv'd me by a ſort of Miracle, in this great and dangerous Voyage, of which you have an Account in this Volume. And when I think on it with attention, I am perſuaded that Providence has kept

[1] See p. 87, note 1, *ante*.—Ed.

me for publiſhing to the World the Great Diſcoveries I have made in Eleven Years time, or thereabouts, that I have liv'd in the *Weſt-Indies*.

[242] It muſt be obſerv'd, That a great many Men meddle with Buſineſs that don't belong to them, and will conceive a Jealouſy againſt thoſe that won't conform to their Humour. The Provincial-Commiſſary, of whom I have ſpoken before, was very urgent to have a Copy of the Journal of the Diſcovery I had made in a Voyage of almoſt four Years, telling me he would keep it ſecret. I took his Word; for I thought, and I think ſtill, he was a Man of Honour and Probity. Beſides, I did conſider that he could inſtruct the Biſhop of *Quebec*, and Count *Frontenac*, with what they had a mind to know of this Diſcovery, and ſatisfy them both, without expoſing my ſelf.

For this purpoſe were intended all the Care he took of me, and all the extraordinary Civilities he did ſhew me, in entertaining me with all he could get then, and calling me often the *Rais'd-again*. He deſir'd me to return into *Europe*, to acquaint the Publick with the great Diſcoveries I had made, and that by this way I ſhould avoid the Jealouſy of theſe two Men; that it was very difficult to pleaſe two Maſters, whoſe Employment and Intereſts were ſo different.

He had then, before my Return into *Europe*, all the time that was neceſſary to Copy out my whole Voyage on the River *Meſchaſipi*, which I had undertook againſt M. *de la Salle*'s Opinion, who has made ſince a Voyage from the

Illinois to the Gulph of *Mexico*, in the Year 1682, and two Years after me.[1] He had had ſome ſuſpicion I had made that Voyage; yet he could not know the Truth of it at my Return to Fort *Frontenac*, becauſe he had then undertook a Voyage to the *Outouagamis*, not knowing whether the Savages had murther'd me, as it had been given out.

I follow'd our Commiſſary's Advice, and the Reſolution to return into *Europe;* but before I ſet out, [243] I ſhew'd him that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the Settlement of Colonies in our Diſcoveries, and make ſome progreſs towards the eſtabliſhing of the Goſpel, to keep all theſe ſeveral Nations in peace, even the moſt remote, and aſſiſt them againſt the *Iroqueſe*, who are their Common Enemies: That theſe Barbarians never make a True Peace with thoſe that they have once beaten, or they hope to overcome, in ſpreading Diviſions among them; that the common Maxim of the *Iroqueſe* had always been ſuch, and by this means they had deſtroy'd above Two Millions of Souls.

The Provincial-Commiſſary agreed with me upon all this, and told me that for the future he ſhould give me all the neceſſary Inſtructions for that purpoſe.

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[1] With a text abounding in references of this character, disparaging La Salle and setting up the claim that the author, first of all white men, voyaged on the lower Mississippi, it is surprising that Shea should advance the theory, in his edition of *Louisiane*, that the account of this voyage was interpolated by another hand, for which Hennepin should not be held responsible. If this is not Hennepin's claim, then all of his latest books are open to the suspicion that he had nothing to do with them — and this is inadmissible; from Preface to Finis, the narrative is clothed in his unmistakable style. — Ed.

I will give an Account, if it pleaſe God, in my Second Volume, of the Ways and Meaſures that are to be taken for the eſtabliſhing of the Faith among the many Nations of ſo different Languages; and how good Colonies might be ſetled in thoſe great Countries, which might be call'd the Delights of *America*, and become one of the greateſt Empires in the World.

FINIS.

[End of Volume I.—ED.]

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